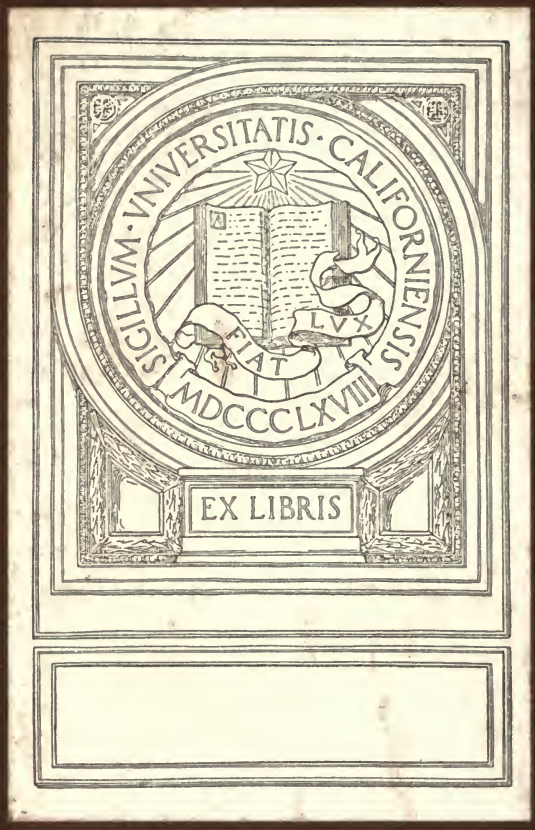
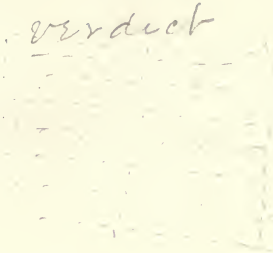
TWELFTH WEBSTER REGIMENT.


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
FIAT LVX
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS



HISTORY

OF THE

TWELFTH MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS

(*WEBSTER REGIMENT*)

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL BENJAMIN F. COOK

PUBLISHED BY THE
TWELFTH (WEBSTER) REGIMENT ASSOCIATION
BOSTON: 1882

E 513
.5
12th
C6

PREFACE.

AT the annual re-union of the survivors of the Twelfth (Webster) Regiment in August, 1879, it was voted to have a full and complete history of the regiment written. To that end an Historical Committee was chosen, consisting of five members of the Association; and the duty of selecting an historian was delegated to it. Subsequently the committee made choice of the undersigned. For the honor conferred upon me I heartily thank my comrades, although I think that their choice might have been better placed. There are many in the regiment more competent to perform the duty than myself; yet I can say, however, that I believe there is no one more earnestly desirous that the story of the great trials, hardships, and almost unexampled heroism of those three eventful years from 1861 to '64 shall be told to the public of to-day and succeeding generations. Neither is there one more anxious that justice be done to each and every member of the regiment.

In commencing my work, I issued a circular, asking the assistance of comrades, and also calling for diaries, memoranda, and material of any kind, from which to construct my story. To all who responded to these circulars, or who have in any manner rendered me assistance, I take this opportunity to express my hearty thanks. To comrades George Kimball, Charles C. Wehrum, George E. Muzzey, Joseph W. Thayer, Charles W. Hastings, George W. French, and others, who have assisted me, including

M123186

my wife, who has aided me in collecting data, as well as serving as amanuensis, I feel especially grateful.

The map showing the marches of the regiment, appearing in the history, was drawn by a comrade who refuses to have his name used, from a map issued by the government war-office; and it is believed to be substantially correct. He was much assisted, also, by a map showing the route of the wagon-trains, in the possession of Quartermaster George E. Muzzey.

That the work is deficient in many respects I am fully aware, but I have the assurance of knowing that I have performed my duty as well as I could. The reasons for any deficiencies that may appear will be apparent to all upon reflection, and it is unnecessary for me to enumerate them. I have endeavored to make the work impartial, and to abstain as much as possible from rendering praise in special cases. There is no need of praise from your historian. Your record as soldiers does not require it; and no language, however emphatic, can give an adequate idea of your sacrifices, your unselfish devotion, and the suffering and hardship attending your service.

My original plan was, to have prepared a full and correct roster of the regiment, showing who were killed and wounded, and other facts of interest: but company descriptive-books and muster-out rolls could not be obtained, and no persons were found who could supply such facts from memory; therefore the work had to be abandoned. A partial or an incorrect list would be worse than none.

It may appear that some companies have received undue attention, being more frequently mentioned than others; but, if such is the case, it is because they have furnished me with more material. It certainly is not the result of preference. The men of Company H responded well to the call for data, five of them sending matter which has been of great assistance. The diary of Thaddeus Keith of Company F (killed at the battle of the Wilderness), forwarded to me by his brother, has been a great

help. There were two responses to the circular from Company K, and one each from Companies A and I.

The reader will please bear in mind that this little volume is not a history of the war, but the story of *our* campaigns. I have all the way through striven to avoid as much as possible irrelevant matters, believing that what was desired was a plain and true account of the movements and experiences of the Twelfth Regiment.

And now, resting in the hope that those most interested will approve my work, I present to the surviving members of the old Twelfth (Webster) Regiment this history of their service in the war of the Rebellion.

BENJAMIN F. COOK,
Late Lieut.-Col. 12th Regiment, Mass. Vol. Infantry.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

How the Regiment came into Existence 9

CHAPTER II.

Muster in. — Off for the Front 15

CHAPTER III.

The First Year's Duty 25

CHAPTER IV.

Under Pope. — Cedar Mountain to Chantilly 56

CHAPTER V.

Under McClellan. — South Mountain and Antietam . . 66

CHAPTER VI.

Under Burnside. — Fredericksburg 78

CHAPTER VII.

Under Hooker. — Chancellorsville 89

CHAPTER VIII.

Under Meade. — Gettysburg 100

CHAPTER IX.

The Fall of 1863. — Mine Run 107

CHAPTER X.

The Last Winter 122

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

UNDER GRANT. — THE LAST CAMPAIGN 125

CHAPTER XII.

HOMEWARD BOUND. — MUSTER OUT 139

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS 149

APPENDIX 159

ILLUSTRATIONS.

MAP OF COUNTRY, SHOWING MARCHES, ETC. . Pocket inside of cover.

PORTRAIT OF COL. FLETCHER WEBSTER . . . . Frontispiece.

CANTONMENT HICKS . . . . . Opp. p. 34.

PORTRAIT OF COL. JAMES L. BATES . . . . . Opp. p. 74.

The Webster Regiment.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THE REGIMENT CAME INTO EXISTENCE.

1861. SUMTER had been fired on; the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had been attacked while passing "through Baltimore;" men were anxiously inquiring, "What next?" an appeal had been made to the people of the Commonwealth for extra troops; when, on Saturday,
April 20. April 20, 1861, the following notice was issued by the surveyor of the port of Boston: —

> Fellow-citizens, — I have been assured by the Executive Department, that the State will accept at once an additional regiment of infantry. I therefore propose to meet to-morrow, at ten o'clock, in front of Merchants' Exchange, State Street, such of my fellow-citizens as will join in raising this new regiment. The muster-roll will be ready to be signed then and there.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> Fletcher Webster.

April 21. "To-morrow, at ten o'clock," so great was the crowd on State Street, that — the front of the Merchants' Exchange being illy adapted for effective speaking — an adjournment was made to the Old State House; and from the balcony on the east end Mr. Webster and others addressed the multitude. A morning paper described the meeting thus: —

1861. "The enthusiasm, both of the young and old, seemed raised to the highest pitch; and the patriotic spirit of '76 appeared fully awakened. Mr. Webster's remarks were patriotic in the extreme. He could, he said, see no better use to which the sabbath could be put, than to improve it by showing our gratitude to Divine Providence for bestowing upon us the best government in the world, and to pledge ourselves to stand by and defend it. He then read General Order No. 6, calling for volunteers, and said, that, in consequence of that order, he offered to join his fellow-citizens anywhere in serving their country. 'Time presses! the enemy are now approaching the Capitol of the nation: it may already be in their hands. Promptness is needed. Let us show the world that the patriotism of '61 is not less than the patriotism of '76; that the noble impulses of their patriotic hearts have descended to us.' He then announced that all who desired to enlist could do so by placing their names on the papers at the surveyor's office at the Custom House. Mr. Webster's remarks were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The meeting was addressed by many other gentlemen, including William Dehon, Esq., Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, Edward Riddle, Esq., and others. Mr. Dehon said he was ready, as one of a committee of one hundred citizens, to join in raising money to equip a regiment of ten companies."

April 22. At nine o'clock on Monday morning, Mr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, jun., — who had previously tendered his services to Mr. Webster, — opened enlistment papers at the Merchants' Exchange. Others assisted in the work, and in less than three days *sixteen full companies* were ready for organization. What became of eleven of these companies is not known, but doubtless they were swallowed up by other organizations in the hurry and confusion then everywhere prevailing among those engaged in organizing troops.

May 7. On May 7 the regiment was armed, officered, uniformed, and in camp under the title of "The Webster Regiment," by which name it ever will be remembered.

In behalf of the friends of the regiment, a committee had been organized, consisting of Messrs. William Dehon, Peter Butler, Henry L. Hallett, George Eaton, and R. B. Bradford, which was known as the Webster Committee. Over fourteen thousand dollars had been contributed; and

1861. these gentlemen assumed entire charge of the expenses of the regiment, making themselves responsible for the sum of seventy thousand dollars.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the Webster Committee; for, owing to their liberality and personal exertions, the Webster Regiment was the best-equipped organization that ever left Massachusetts.

In its early days the regiment was temporarily lodged and drilled in Faneuil Hall, a building on Clinton Street, and a hall on Summer Street; but the first week in May found it stationed at Fort Warren, in accordance with Special Order No. 144, issued April 29. Before the regiment was sent to Fort Warren, the Webster Committee, not finding the accommodations suitable, employed men to clean the barracks and make the place habitable. On reaching the fort, the field and staff were elected by the company officers, in conformity with the custom of Massachusetts.

Colonel. — Fletcher Webster, commissioned May 4.
Lieutenant-Colonel. — Timothy M. Bryan, jun., commissioned May 4.
Major. — Elisha M. Burbank, commissioned May 9.

A correspondent of "The Cape Ann Advertiser," a member of Company K, writing of the regiment at this time, says, —

"Our men are full of patriotic ardor; and all they ask is, to be sure that their families will be taken care of. We have enlisted for the war, be it longer or shorter."

May 18. On May 18 the regiment was drawn up on the parade-ground to salute the steamer "Cambridge," as she passed with a load of soldiers and supplies for Fortress Monroe, the boat acknowledging by dipping her flags as she passed Fort Warren.

May 19. At the sabbath services on May 19, Rev. Mr. Hepworth offered prayer; and Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, acting regimental chaplain, delivered an address; the services closing by all joining in singing "America." A photograph of the regiment was then taken. At four P.M.

1861. regimental dress-parade elicited the applause of all present.

May 21. On May 21 Col. Webster received orders to recruit his regiment to the maximum.

May 24. During the night of Friday, May 24, an alarm was sounded for the purpose of testing the promptness and efficiency of the regiment. In less than three minutes the regiment was on the parade-ground in line of battle and ready for duty.

May 25. On Saturday, May 25, the governor and members of the Legislature visited the regiment, Gov. Andrew making an eloquent speech. On the same day the Second Battalion left Fort Warren, escorted to the wharf by the regiment, and to the State House by Companies A and E.

May 26. Sunday, May 26, was marked by a visit from Mayor Wightman of Boston, and members of the city government, accompanied by Gen. B. F. Edmands.

May 27. On Monday the steamer "Massachusetts" passed, carrying troops for Fort Pickens, and received the customary salute.

May 30. Thursday, May 30, was noted by a singular incident. An officer of one of the companies — having uttered traitorous sentiments, and rejoiced over the death of Col. Ellsworth — was cashiered, and marched out of the fort to the melody of "The Rogue's March."

June 7. On Friday, June 7, the Eleventh Regiment left Fort Warren. Their last night in the fort was marked by a very fraternal re-union, the exercises closing by all joining in singing "Auld Lang Syne." The Eleventh was escorted to the city by Companies A and B of the Twelfth, under command of Capt. Murch.

June 14. By request of the Secretary of War, on Friday, June 14, the Twelfth Regiment was accepted as part of the Massachusetts quota.

June 17. On the following Monday, Col. Webster attended a flag-raising at Bunker Hill, by invitation of Gov. Andrew; and, when called on by the governor, Col. Webster made a speech which the papers at the time styled "brief and appropriate." It was his last public utterance in Massachusetts.

1861. June 17. "His father, he said, had made the oration when the corner-stone of the monument was laid, and again when the monument was completed. He well remembered the preliminary meetings of the committee selected to decide upon the size, character, design, and site of the monument. He could remember the appearance of most of them, as their meetings were frequently held at his father's house.

"'As a boy, I was present at the laying of the corner-stone of this great obelisk, under whose shadow we now are. Lafayette laid the stone with appropriate and imposing Masonic ceremonies. The vast procession, impatient of unavoidable delay, broke the line of march, and in a tumultuous crowd rushed toward the orator's platform; and I was saved from being trampled under foot by the strong arm of Mr. George Sullivan, who lifted me on his shoulders, shouting, "Don't kill the orator's son!" and bore me through the crowd, and placed me on the staging at my father's feet. I felt somewhat embarrassed at that notice, as I do now at this unforeseen notice by his Excellency; but I had no occasion to make an acknowledgment of it.' He had also witnessed the ceremonies at its completion. 'Many distinguished persons from all parts of our country were present, some of whom, I regret to say, would hardly like now to renew that visit or recall that scene. Within a few days after this, I left the country and sailed for China; and, while light and eyesight lasted, I watched its lofty summit as it faded from view. I now stand again at its base, and renew the vows once more on its national altar, — not for the first time made, — of devotion to my country, its Constitution and Union. From this spot I take my departure, like the mariner commencing his voyage; and, wherever my eyes close, they will turn hitherward, towards this North; and, in whatever event, grateful will be the reflection that this monument still stands, — still is gilded by the earliest beams of the rising sun, and that still departing day lingers and plays upon its summit.'"

Gen. Schouler, in his "History of Massachusetts during the Rebellion," says, —

"No man who ever knew Col. Webster could read these words uttered by him, on this occasion, without remembering many pleasant incidents connected with him."

1861. June. Drills and dress-parades marked the time till the close of the month, interspersed with mock parades led by Townley of Company A, as lieutenant-colonel, and Davidson of Company B, as adjutant, both of whom were unrivalled in their "counterfeit presentment."

Choice music in abundance, both instrumental and vocal; frolic and games of all kinds, in the quarters and on the parade-ground; watching the shipping from the ramparts as it entered and left the harbor; fraternizations with the Second Battalion of Infantry, the Fourteenth and Eleventh Regiments; receiving and entertaining friends and distinguished visitors; frequent visits to the city; with plenty of food, of good quality, furnished by Caterer J. B. Smith, — all served to make the time pass very pleasantly.

But one thing was desired: officers and men were impatiently awaiting orders to proceed to Washington.

CHAPTER II.

MUSTER IN. — OFF FOR THE FRONT.

1861. June 26. ON Wednesday, June 26, 1861, eight hundred and fifty men of the Webster Regiment were mustered into the United-States service by Capt. Marshall, U.S.A.

July 11. In July the ranks were filled, and on the 11th the newcomers were sworn in by Capts. Marshall and Amory.

The regimental roster was as follows : —

Colonel. — FLETCHER WEBSTER of Marshfield.
Lieutenant-Colonel. — TIMOTHY M. BRYAN, jun., of Newton.
Major. — ELISHA M. BURBANK of Woburn.
Adjutant. — THOMAS P. HAVILAND of Newton.
Quartermaster. — DAVID WOOD of Lexington.
Chaplain. — EDWARD L. CLARK of Andover.
Surgeon. — JEDEDIAH H. BAXTER of Boston.
Assistant-Surgeon. — J. MCLEAN HAYWARD of Boston.
Sergeant-Major. — GERALD FITZGERALD of Boston.
Quartermaster-Sergeant. — LORING W. MUZZEY of Lexington.
Commissary-Sergeant. — CHARLES W. THOMPSON of Boston.
Hospital-Steward. — C. C. HUTCHINS of Maine.

COMPANY A.

Captain. — RICHARD H. KIMBALL, Boston.
First Lieutenant. — WILLIAM G. WHITE.
Second Lieutenant. — GEORGE W. ORNE.

After reaching Maryland this company was named "Felton Guards," in honor of a young lady of Boston to whom Capt. Kimball was betrothed.

COMPANY B.

Captain. — GEORGE W. MURCH, Boston.
First Lieutenant. — FRED R. SHATTUCK.
Second Lieutenant. — CHARLES T. PACKARD.

1861. July 11. Capt. Murch was an old veteran of the Mexican war; and his company was known as the "Dehon Guards," in honor of William Dehon, Esq., of the Webster Committee.

COMPANY C.

Captain. — DANIEL G. HANDY, Boston.
First Lieutenant. — EDWARD T. PEARCE.
Second Lieutenant. — HARLAN P. BENNETT.

COMPANY D.

Captain. — NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, jun., Boston.
First Lieutenant. — J. OTIS WILLIAMS.
Second Lieutenant. — GEORGE B. DRAKE.

Capt. Shurtleff being a graduate of the Boston Latin School, that institution greatly interested itself in his company. They gave about four hundred dollars toward furnishing each member with flannels, stockings, etc., presented Capt. Shurtleff with a purse of seventy-five dollars, and voted a gold medal with a suitable inscription to the member of Company D who should prove most worthy during his term of service. They also presented to the company a handsome standard, made in the form of the old Roman maniple, surmounted by a gilt eagle and bearing a medallion head of Daniel Webster. Underneath were the numerals "xii." and the letter "D." In acknowledgment of all this, Company D styled itself the "Latin School Guard."

COMPANY E.

Captain. — EDWARD C. SALTMARSH, Boston.
First Lieutenant. — GEORGE H. DAVIS.
Second Lieutenant. — SAMUEL APPLETON.

Capt. Saltmarsh was formerly of the Norwich Military Academy. Mr. Emerson's Boston school of young ladies was very generous to this company, which took the name of "Emerson Guards."

These five companies were recruited in Boston: the remaining five were recruited in the towns against their captains' names.

1861.

COMPANY F.

Captain. — ALEXANDER HICHBORN, North Bridgewater (now Brockton).
First Lieutenant. — ALPHEUS K. HARMON.
Second Lieutenant. — HIRAM W. COPELAND.

COMPANY G

Captain. — IRA BLANCHARD, Abington
First Lieutenant. — EDWARD P. REED.
Second Lieutenant. — LYSANDER F. CUSHING.

COMPANY H.

Captain. — JAMES L. BATES, Weymouth.
First Lieutenant. — CHARLES W. HASTINGS.
Second Lieutenant. — FRANCIS B. PRATT.

COMPANY I.

Captain. — JOHN RIPLEY, Stoughton.
First Lieutenant. — CHESTER CLARK.
Second Lieutenant. — WARREN THOMPSON.

This company was color company until after the battle of Antietam.

COMPANY K.

Captain. — DAVID ALLEN, Gloucester.
First Lieutenant. — BENJAMIN F. COOK.
Second Lieutenant. — GILMAN SAUNDERS.

The late Ebenezer Dale of Boston was greatly interested in this company; and, in acknowledgment of his liberality and kindly care, it was known as the "Dale Guards."

The band, William J. Martland, leader, was from North Bridgewater (now Brockton), and remained with the regiment until May, 1862, when it was sent home by virtue of general orders, it having been decided to reduce the number of bands allowed to the army. During its stay with the regiment it was of great benefit, and its absence was keenly felt when it had returned home.

July 18. On Thursday, July 18, the regiment left the fort on the steamers "Argo" and "May Queen," to be reviewed

1861. July 18. by the governor and others, reaching Commercial Wharf at 10.30 A.M. Escorted by the Second Battalion of Infantry, Major Newton, and Gilmore's Band, the Webster Regiment marched through the principal streets of the city; Col. Webster riding a magnificent horse, the gift of his brother-graduates of Harvard University, class of 1833. On reaching the Common, the Second Battalion marched to the State House, and received the governor and staff, the officers of the Independent Corps of Cadets, and the members of the State government, escorting them to the Common. Soon after four P.M. the regiment passed in review three times, — in common time, quick time, and double-quick. The wheel by company front attracted much attention and elicited great applause. After passing in review, the commissioned officers and color-guard were ordered to the front, when the Hon. Edward Everett, in behalf of the ladies of Boston, presented the regiment with a beautiful flag. Mr. Everett's address was as follows: —

"COL. WEBSTER, — You are entering, sir, with your patriotic associates, upon an untried field of duty; but you are descended from a stock which in more than one generation teaches lessons of loyal devotion. Your grandfather, Capt. Ebenezer Webster, a grave and thoughtful man, was one of those frontier rangers who bore the brunt of the Seven Years' War in the wilderness, which separated our then feeble settlements from Canada; and he stood with Stark at Bennington. Your noble father, in defence of the menaced Constitution of his country, led the mighty conflicts of the Senate, — not less decisive than the conflicts of the field. Your only brother, following the impulses of a generous ambition, left his young life on the sickly plains of Mexico. On the family that bears these proud memories, nothing less worthy than duty well performed, danger bravely met, and the country honorably served, will ever, I am confident, be inscribed in connection with your name.

"It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction, that, on behalf of the patriotic ladies who take a friendly interest in the regiment, I now present you this beautiful banner, well assured that you and all in your command will regard it with grateful interest, as a token of their kind wishes and a pledge of their sympathy; and that you will look upon it with patriotic rever-

1861. July 18. ence as the symbol of the Union, the emblem of the cause you defend and the country you serve. It bears upon its field as a motto, from that immortal speech of your father, the soul-stirring words, 'Not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured.' It is to maintain their high significance that the contest in which you are embarking is waged. Those emblems of our Union, I need not tell you, were first displayed in the camp of Washington, on yonder opposite shore, on the 1st of January, 1776. They have been borne by the armies of the United States against a foreign enemy on hard-fought fields, from the shores of Canada to the burning plains of Mexico. With our navies they have encircled the globe. They are now displayed in defence of the Union itself, in this most unrighteous and fratricidal war; and, like the holy symbol which the first Christian emperor saw in the heavens,[1] they shall marshal its defenders to victory. Your noble father, sir, with prophetic foresight, uttered these solemn words: 'There can be no such thing as a peaceful secession.' Your country calls you to discharge your part in the duty — as imperative as it is sad — which that principle devolves on all good citizens, each in his appropriate sphere. You would gladly have avoided, we should all gladly have avoided, the stern necessity which it laid upon us. We spoke the words of conciliation and peace till they inspired nothing but contempt, and invited even new exactions on the part of our brethren to whom they were addressed; and it was not until they themselves had cried 'Havoc! and let slip the dogs of war,' that the outraged spirit of a loyal people was roused to a tardy resistance. Not upon us rests the dread responsibility of the unnatural conflict.

"Go, then, sir, go, my young friends all, to the field of honor and duty. Place yourselves cheerfully, zealously, wherever the orders of your noble leader — our matchless commander-in-chief — shall summon you. Deem yourselves above all things fortunate that you are to serve under the supreme command of a chieftain as wise and prudent as he is skilful and brave, who has the fortitude to resist the ardor with which an impatient country is pressing for the bloody arbitrament of battle, and who deems it the greatest of victories to spare the lives of his own gallant men. Honored alone of all our meritorious officers with the title and rank conferred but once before, and then on the Father of his Country, Lieut.-Gen. Scott remembers how Washington lay seemingly inactive for nine long months within

[1] The Roman Emperor Constantine, who was inspirited to renewed endeavors by the appearance in the heavens of a cross bearing the inscription, "Conquer by this."

1861. July 18. the lines (of which on yonder heights you still see the remains) which encircled Boston, from which he allowed the enemy at last to depart without the loss of a man. He remembers that the campaigns of 1779 and 1780 passed without a blow struck by the force under Gen. Washington, and that after the power of the enemy was broken, and the war virtually ended by the fall of Cornwallis in 1781, still for two years it was allowed to linger, and the hostile army remained undisturbed in its stronghold at New York. Gen. Scott remembers this; and he knows that it was precisely the Fabian delays, this courageous deliberation, by which alone the Revolution could have been conducted to a triumphant issue.

"And now, sir, on behalf of the friends of the regiment, on behalf of this favoring and sympathizing multitude, I bid you with your officers and men Godspeed! The best wishes of those you have left behind will bear you company. The memories of Bunker Hill, Lexington, and Concord will hover around your march. The example of the Massachusetts troops who have preceded you will kindle your emulation. Let the fair banner I now confide to you be seen in the front of battle. When it returns in God's good time, with your regiment, it may come back torn and faded; but it will not, it shall not, return disgraced. Dust and blood may stain it; the iron hail of battle may mar its beautiful blazonry; it may hang in honorable tatters from its staff, — but loyalty and patriotism shall cling to its last shred: treachery shall blast it never, never!"

Col. Webster was deeply affected, and, on receiving the standard, made the following reply: —

"In the name and on behalf of the Twelfth Regiment of Infantry of Massachusetts, I accept from your hands, sir, this beautiful standard. I accept it, sir, with no feelings of thoughtless exultation, but regard it as a very sacred trust, bringing with it grave responsibilities and duties. We are here under arms, not for the sake of display, nor attracted by the glitter and pomp of military life. Like thousands of others, we have left our occupations and our homes, and those who make home dear to us, for the purpose of defending, maintaining, and upholding those institutions of civil government which have protected and made profitable those occupations and safe those homes; and we do not purpose to return with this work unaccomplished. The plainest dictates of duty to God, to our ancestry, and to our children, call us to this task. We are well aware of the difficulties and dangers in our path; but, trusting

1861. July 18. in Heaven and the justice of our cause, we are prepared to encounter them. When next, sir, you shall see this banner, it may offer a strong contrast to its present radiant appearance. You may see its brilliancy gone, its gay colors dimmed with smoke, and its silken folds battered by shot, but it shall never bear a stain of dishonor. Some of us will bring it back ; and it shall hang in our halls when —

"'Danger's troubled night is o'er,
And the star of peace returns.'

"We offer to you, and to those friends who through you have intrusted us with the keeping of this standard, our warm and heartfelt thanks for this mark of their kindness and confidence."

The color-guard then advanced ; the standard was committed to their care ; and Col. Webster, turning to the regiment, called for three cheers for the friends of the cause, which were enthusiastically given.

The standard was of rich white silk, with a heavy gold band edged with blue ; the shield of the Union and the coat-of-arms of Massachusetts resting on each other to represent the mutual support each derived from the other. On the scroll the celebrated Webster motto, "Not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured ;" connecting the insignia of State and Union, the motto, "E Pluribus Unum." The palm-leaf of victory and oak-leaf of strength completed this side of the banner. On the opposite side, "The Webster Regiment, April 21st, 1861." A halo of light above was set off by a war-cloud below ; and nearly surrounding the painting was a laurel and oak wreath, connecting the first and last words of the motto.

The staff was lancewood, the handle elegantly carved with the letter W ; a golden eagle rested on top of the staff ; lower down a magnificent fold of satin bordered with gold and trimmed with fringe of the same material.

After the presentation, the regiment partook of a sumptuous repast served by the city under the trees on the Beacon-street mall. At six o'clock the line was formed for dress-parade, after which the regiment returned to Fort Warren. In going down through State Street, the men marched route-step, and sang the "John Brown"

1861. song in a spirited manner with full band accompaniment. The song originated in the Second Battalion of Infantry while it was in the fort, and had been enthusiastically adopted by the Webster Regiment. All who were present and saw the regiment on this occasion acknowledged that it was unexcelled in discipline and quality.

The Webster Committee were losing patience, and for good reason. The regiment seemed doomed to dwell forever in Fort Warren. Seven regiments had gone to the front, yet the Twelfth still drilled and waited in Boston Harbor. So the committee induced the Hon. Henry Wilson, Chairman of Committee on Military Affairs, to visit Fort Warren and see the Webster Regiment. He came, and declared it the best-drilled organization he had thus far seen. On his return to Washington an order came, "Add to the seven other regiments the Twelfth;" and the Webster Regiment prepared to leave the State.

July 23. On Tuesday, July 23, the regiment was reviewed by Brig.-Gen. Andrews, commander of the garrison, and was escorted by the Fourteenth Regiment, Col. Greene, to the landing. On its way to Boston it was saluted by the school-ship "Massachusetts," and the ships "Pembroke" and "Cambridge." At 6.30 P.M. the regiment reached Boston. The men wore white "havelocks," and had their overcoats neatly folded on top of their knapsacks, the bright red lining being outward, which contrasted oddly with their tanned faces and blue coats. The strength was 1,040 men, armed with the Enfield rifle. Escorted by the Second Battalion, the regiment marched in quick time, *via* State, Court, and Tremont Streets, to the Old Colony Depot. While marching up State Street, and again near the Common, the men sang with much spirit the famous "John Brown" song. The march was one grand ovation. At every available point streets and windows were literally packed. Not a man was left behind: all were in good condition and ready for any duty. "The Massachusetts Register" says, —

"So eager were the brave fellows to serve their country, that they actually signed three sets of papers."

1861. They never received any pay for the time previous to date of muster into the United-States service.

At eight P.M. the train moved out of the Old Colony Depot. It consisted of twenty-one passenger-cars, drawn by two powerful engines. Following it came the camp-equipage, — twenty baggage-wagons, two hospital-wagons, five ambulances, one powder-wagon, and ninety-six horses. The horses had been picketted on the old battle-ground at Lexington, and trained by the teamsters. Every man in the regiment had ten rounds of ammunition, and fifty thousand rounds were carried on the baggage-train.

"The Massachusetts Register" says, —

> "The departure of the Webster Regiment will long be remembered by those who witnessed its birth, growth, and education. The relation which it maintained to the city, and the reputation which it achieved, secured to these troops an ovation second to none which preceded it."

The passage to Fall River was marked by bonfires, fireworks, and other illuminations all along the route. Fall River was reached at 10.30 P.M., and at 1.30 A.M. of July 24 the steamer "Bay State" carried the Webster Regi-
July 24. ment from the shore of Massachusetts.

The passage down the Sound was pleasant. From Hell Gate to the landing at New York the regiment was lustily cheered by thousands. At Fourteenth Street a delegation of Massachusetts gentlemen, accompanied by the Seventh New-York Regiment Band, were in waiting; and the regiment was escorted to the Park Barracks, where dinner was provided by the Military Agent for Massachusetts, the officers dining at the Astor House. At seven P.M. the regiment marched down Broadway to Pier No. 2. At the order "route-step," the band struck up "John Brown:" the men joined in singing, and the citizens of New York were electrified by the weird chorus. It had never before been sung in New-York City. The steamer "Kill von Kull" carried the regiment to Elizabethport, where, after a delay of three hours, caused by disembarking the baggage-wagons, cars were taken for Harrisburg, Penn.

1861. July 25. On through the lovely scenery of Eastern Pennsylvania, halting occasionally for some coming train, and improving the time by picking blackberries; stopping for lunch at Reading; waiting two hours at Newmantown, for an express train; received with open arms by the thrifty and hospitable inhabitants of Lebanon, and reaching Harrisburg at six P.M.; waiting there two hours; then still on through York, to Glen Rock.

July 26. Here the regiment breakfasted, loaded muskets, and filled canteens from a "boiling spring;" on at a snail's pace to Hummelstown; passing Mason's and Dixon's Line, and entering "Dixie" at 9.30 A.M., July 26, — such was the journey.

The regiment was five and one-half hours travelling from Glen Rock to Hummelstown, a distance of twenty-five miles. Suspicion being aroused of something wrong, Col. Webster dismissed the engineer; and one of our own men, Nathan L. Revere of Company G, was placed in charge of the engine, with manifest good results in the item of speed.

At noon the regiment reached Baltimore; the baggage was drawn across the city by horses, and guarded by Companies H and B; a few moments were devoted to a hasty meeting with the Eighth Massachusetts, and quietly and peacefully the Webster Regiment passed "through Baltimore." At ten P.M., singing "John Brown," the regiment left Baltimore, and, packed in cattle-cars, rode on past camp and guard, till, on the morning of July 27, Sandy Hook, Md., opposite Harper's Ferry, was reached.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST YEAR'S DUTY.

1861. July 27. THE regiment pitched tents on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, about a mile from Harper's Ferry; and, being assigned to Abercrombie's brigade of Banks's division, the camp was named in honor of the division commander. The "twin regiments," Second Massachusetts and Third Wisconsin, greeted our arrival; and, after detailing portions of Companies B and D to guard a building at division headquarters, — filled with ammunition, — the remainder of the Twelfth was, with the Thirty-fourth New York, assigned to guard-duty along the Potomac.

July 28. During the night the regiment struck tents and awaited orders. Fifteen extra rounds of ammunition were issued to each man. At daylight pitched tents again.

July 29. In the afternoon Companies B and H were sent to Maryland Heights on scout-duty, where they met the Third Wisconsin building an observatory. At night Doubleday's battery and several infantry regiments camped beside the Twelfth.

July 30. Regimental drill, the rest of the day being spent in "fixing up" tents and camp. The three months' regiments were steadily "marching home again," and three years' regiments continually arriving.

July 31. Hot weather. Gen. Banks was expected to visit the camp for inspection, but failed to put in an appearance. Rained at nightfall.

Aug. 1. Rain and shine. The Fifth Connecticut arrived, and camped near by.

Aug. 2. A man was drummed out of camp.

1861. Aug. 4. Sunday. Chaplain Clark preached from text, "No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." The band played "Old Hundred," all who could joining in singing. Fernando d'Argome, a drummer in the band, was accidentally wounded by a pistol-ball, which, glancing on a tree, lodged in his neck. A member of D company was reported "missing." Three of F company visited Harper's Ferry, returning with news of one thousand rebel conscripts being at Winchester; while an indefinite number were said to be at Manassas. Harper's Ferry they reported to be "a filthy place."

Aug. 5. Rain. One of the companies, being out target-firing, occasioned quite an alarm: the noise being mistaken for an engagement near by, the whole division turned out under arms ere the mistake was discovered. Shortly afterward the Twelfth Indiana discharged its muskets to see what the effect would be, with very gratifying results in the item of creating an alarm. Companies F and H were detailed for a two days' scout, but B contrived to take F's place. Gen. Abercrombie witnessed the regimental drill during the afternoon, and a newspaper correspondent wrote, —

"Gen. Abercrombie gives it as his opinion that the Twelfth is the best-drilled regiment in the brigade, and cannot be excelled by any in the division."

Aug. 6. At 9.30 A.M. shifted camp to a very pleasant grove, with abundance of good water.

Aug. 7. Battalion drill. At dress-parade Gen. Banks and staff, with other visitors, were present.

Aug. 9. A rattlesnake was killed. It was three feet nine inches long, and had six rattles.

Aug. 14. A severe north-east storm raging. At seven P.M. received orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice, with two days' cooked rations.

Aug. 15. Was spent in conjectures as to when and where the regiment was to move. At ten A.M. the whole brigade marched to Weaverstown, halted there half an hour; then on through Knoxville and Petersville, halting at Skedunkski Creek; then through Jefferson to Buckeyston, where

1861. the brigade camped, after a march of twenty-six miles. Rained after reaching camp.

Aug. 17. Still raining. At eight A.M. marched through Buckeystown, and crossed the Monocacy River, when a halt was ordered. Rumor said the thermometer ranged from 100° to 120° in the shade.

Aug. 18. Doubleday's artillery, the Ninth New York, and other troops, are on the move.

Aug. 19. Roused early with the already familiar orders, to move at a moment's notice. A dense fog prevailing, delayed matters, till at nine A.M. tents were struck, and the regiment floundered through muddy roads to Urbanna, where it was rapturously received by the inhabitants, under the supposition that it was a Confederate force. Shortly after passing Urbanna, a false alarm set every one on the *qui vive;* and, flanked by skirmishers, the regiment marched to Hyattstown, where it camped for the night. Capt. Kimball with twenty men was sent to Hyattstown, to search a house said to be full of ammunition; but all he could find was a few old muskets, of date not much later than the Revolution.

Aug. 20. Fine day, but short rations. Citizens were in camp complaining of theft. One was speedily sent about his business by Lieut.-Col. Bryan. During the morning General Orders referring to discipline were read, the instructions to guards being very strict. Battalion skirmish-drill.

Aug. 21. Several prisoners were brought into camp. Gen. Banks and the Second Massachusetts arrived. Great excitement prevailed on account of a rumor of poisoned springs.

Aug. 24. Rained since morning of 23d. Company A on picket. Mail came, and news of evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the Union forces.

Aug. 25. Sunday — inspection. At the evening service the chaplain discoursed on "The Individual Responsibility of Man to his Maker."

Aug. 26. Col. Webster left for Washington. Five members of Company F were detailed for hospital service at Baltimore. Two lieutenants and four men were detailed for service in signal corps. Heavy firing heard in direction of Washington, causing all manner of rumors.

1861. Aug. 27. Company F on guard near Hyattstown. First brigade reviewed.

Aug. 28. Severe north-east storm. Toward noon subsided enough to permit a review of the second brigade. At four P.M. received orders to march at seven A.M. Aug. 29.

Aug. 29. Reveille early. At 6.30 A.M. struck tents; at 7.30 A.M. marched. Travelled for thirteen hours, doing only five miles on account of the bad condition of the roads, and camped in the edge of a wood. Surgeon Baxter averred that very little more hard marching over the miserable roads in such bad weather would send the entire regiment to the hospital.

Aug. 30. Sun came out to take a look at the country.

Aug. 31. Inspection; pay-rolls signed.

Sept. 1. Chaplain spoke on "Refining Influences of the Bible."

Sept. 2. Capt. Allen, officer of the day, put under arrest by Col. Gordon, of Second Massachusetts (temporarily commanding the brigade). The circumstances are familiar to all of the regiment, and briefly were, that a member of the Second Massachusetts was hung up by his thumbs for some trifling misdemeanor, the Twelfth shouted their objections, and Capt. Allen was arrested for not preserving order. Col. Gordon, in his privately published "History of Second Massachusetts," refers very slightingly to the Twelfth, and Col. Webster, averring that "To interfere with our discipline was at one time the desire of the Twelfth." "It was plainly evident from many facts that Col. Webster could not control his men;" and speaking of "the regiment which commanded Col. Webster." Let one incident, out of hundreds which might be cited, show whether or no Col. Webster had "control" over his men.

Once they were rather noisily amusing themselves with story-telling, joking, etc. The adjutant came and said, "Col. Webster would like you to make a little less noise." There was instantaneous silence.

That Col. Gordon's course was not approved by his superiors is evident from the fact that Capt. Allen was released from arrest; and Davidson of Company B, who had been charged with inciting mutiny and in-

1861. subordination, was tried by general court-martial and acquitted.

At evening Col. Webster returned from Washington, and was received with hearty cheers.

Sept. 3. Gen. Abercrombie witnessed battalion drill under Capt. Bates, and spoke flatteringly of the regiment's appearance.

Sept. 4. The customary "Orders to move at a moment's notice." News that Jeff Davis has again died.

Sept. 5. Mail came. Rainy.

Sept. 7. Orders to "be ready to move," etc. Company H, and a company from the Second Massachusetts, guarding a supply-train. About two thousand mules, with proper allowance of wagons and teamsters, camped near by. A rumor was afloat, to the effect that seventy-five thousand rebs were going to cross the Potomac. (Just one year later this proved a truthful report.)

Sept. 8. Sunday. Lieut. Hastings and five men returned from Washington, bringing the mail. Breakfast this day consisted of potatoes and beefsteak (not the "fresh meat" of later days).

Sept. 10. Battalion drill in "bayonet charge," the movement being executed with a "howling accompaniment."

Sept. 11. Regiment was visited by Gen. Banks, Mayor Wightman, and the correspondent of "The London Times." In the afternoon some of the men indulged in a foot-race. Rain at nightfall.

Sept. 12. Lieut.-Col. Bryan, with Companies B and G, left camp under sealed orders. Major Burbank, Chaplain Clark, Surgeon Baxter, and the band accompanied the party. Gen. Banks and lady visited camp at dress-parade. At night the supply-trains moved.

The following organizations were camped near the Twelfth: Second and Thirteenth Massachusetts, Twelfth and Sixteenth Indiana, Fourth and Fifth Rhode-Island Batteries, Cameron artillery, and a regiment of New-York cavalry.

Sept. 13. Were reminded that should move shortly.

Sept. 14. Fine day, men playing foot-ball and base-ball.

Sept. 15. During the afternoon Gen. Pierce — in citizen's dress — visited regimental headquarters.

1861.
Sept. 19. Soon after tattoo the regiment was turned out. Forty rounds of ammunition were issued to each man. At eleven P.M. marched, passing through Darnestown. At three A.M. the regiment bivouacked "by Potomac's shore."

Sept. 20. During the afternoon shifted camp to near Muddy Branch.

Sept. 21. Building ovens. Company F on picket.

Sept. 22. Sunday. Firing heard across the river, and a column of Confederates could plainly be seen on the opposite shore of the Potomac. Company H on main guard. Religious exercises at ten A.M.

Sept. 23. Private Rufus A. Peck, Company I, while killing beef, was struck by a falling beam. He lived about half an hour after the accident. This was the first death in the regiment. The Eleventh Cavalry camped near by.

Sept. 24. Rufus A. Peck buried at three P.M.

Sept. 25. One hundred men out mending the roads. In the evening paymaster arrived.

Sept. 26. National Fast Day. The new sutler came.

Sept. 27. Rain. Mail received. Firing heard in direction of Long Bridge.

Sept. 28. Mail received, and newspapers.

Sept. 29. Inspection. Service at ten A.M.: subject of discourse, "Firmness in Time of Battle and in Temptation." A soldier of the Twelfth writes under this date, —

> "To-day is the sabbath; and it is kept in our camp with as much strictness as at home, except that the work necessary to be done is a little more. This morning we had an excellent sermon preached in the open air by our worthy chaplain. The decorum observed, and the attention with which it was listened to, speak well for the regiment."

Sept. 30. Heavy firing heard, and smoke seen up the river. It proved to be an attack on some of our troops which had crossed the Potomac, above Harper's Ferry, to seize some wheat belonging to the Confederates. A call being made for re-enforcements, part of Third Wisconsin Infantry, and four pieces from the Rhode-Island and New-York batteries, were sent from the brigade. The Confederate force was repulsed, and moved down the river to nearly opposite the

1861. camp of the Twelfth. There were six regiments, and the sight of so large a body of the enemy caused some stir in camp. Orders to move were received.

Oct. 1. At early morning the regiment silently moved back from the river. At noon Companies B and G, with Major Burbank, returned from their mysterious errand of Sept. 12. Reports had been received, that a "secesh" legislature was to be convened at Baltimore, and these two companies had been despatched as an armed force to repress the movement. As this legislature never was assembled, the services of the military pilgrims were not required.

Oct. 3. Mail came. Ten men, with Company K as guard, were sent to fell trees on an island in the river. The stream being unfordable, the expedition returned to camp.

Oct. 4. Firing heard all day. Dress-parade in evening.

Oct. 5. A call received for volunteers for regular cavalry and artillery. Five men required from each company.

Oct. 6. Col. Webster received information that the "six regiments of rebel infantry and one battery that attacked Great Falls a few days previous were encamped directly opposite the camp of the Twelfth," and that Gen. Banks desired him and his command to be on the alert. A report was afoot that the regiment was to guard rebel prisoners at Fort Warren.

Oct. 7. Thunder, lightning, snow, rain, wind, sleet. Oliver Younger of Company K died from typhus-fever.

Oct. 9. Heavy firing heard all day.

Oct. 10. One of Company C's men, while on picket, suspected that some one was concealed in a clump of bushes near him. When relieved, he notified his successor, warning him to watch those bushes. Then, without acquainting any one of his intention, he started on a tour of investigation outside the picket-line. Result: the poor fellow received a serious wound in the leg; for the sentry promptly fired on noticing a movement in the bushes, on which he had been warned to keep good watch.

Oct. 12. The following was received at headquarters: —

LIEUT.-COL. BRYAN, *commanding Twelfth Mass. Vols.*

Colonel, — You will take personal charge of all the pickets

1861. from Muddy Branch to Great Falls, so that the river may be closely watched.

N. P. Banks, *Maj.-Gen. Com. Div.*

This resulted in a severe tour of guard-duty for the regiment.

Oct. 22. Active preparations to move toward Edward's Ferry, and join the rest of the division. Ball's Bluff had been fought; and, by order of Gen. McClellan, the brigade was ordered to re-enforce the troops there. At ten A.M. marched, halting for an hour at Seneca Mills, then on across Seneca Creek, where the regiment bivouacked for the night in and around an old barn. A very muddy march, which delayed the artillery; so that it was late at night when they came up.

Oct. 23. Virginia in full view. The wagons not coming up, the regiment foraged for a breakfast. At noon the delinquent wagons arrived, escorted by stragglers. At one P.M. moved about one-quarter of a mile; were just beginning to think of pitching tents, when orders came to "Reload all wagons that had been unloaded, those that had not been touched to remain as they were." Cold, cloudy, and windy. Supper consisted of pork, hard bread, and coffee. At night Gen. McClellan crossed the river. Rumor said to hold a council of war.

Oct. 24. Members of Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts visited camp with full accounts of the Ball's-Bluff disaster of the 21st. At night pitched tents.

Oct. 25. Frosty. Shifted camp one-half mile.

Oct. 26. At ten A.M. marched towards Conrad's Ferry. Halted to allow other troops to pass. At eleven A.M., preceded by the Sixteenth Indiana, marched through Poolesville. Distance fifteen miles. Pitched tents.

Oct. 28. Shifted camp two miles.

Oct. 29. Building ovens and fireplaces.

Oct. 30. Cold weather. Newspapers in camp.

Oct. 31. Mail came, with rumors of a march to Harper's Ferry.

Nov. 1-3. Severe storm raging.

Nov. 4. Heard of resignation of Gen. Scott. In afternoon a member of Company K accidentally wounded while on picket.

1861. Began to build log houses. Work stopped by the rain.

Nov. 9.

Nov. 10. Finished building houses. They were sixteen by twelve feet, sixteen feet high, thatched with straw.

Nov. 11. Company A on picket.

Nov. 12. While on drill, news came that Fort Sumter was again in possession of Union forces. Three cheers were called for, but objected to, as the news might prove untrue. Cheers were then proposed for the rumor, and enthusiastically given. (It proved to be Port Royal, not Fort Sumter.)

Nov. 13. A large box of blankets received from lady friends of Boston, under direction of Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis. Most of them were moth-eaten and rotten, however, a fact unknown to the generous donors, and the next morning were found in shreds.

Nov. 16. One of the men heard singing, —

"We're all shaking, shake, shake, shaking," etc.

The pickets were busy repelling an assault by river-rats.

Nov. 17. Sunday inspection. Divine service. Gov. Andrew's Thanksgiving Proclamation read.

Nov. 18. Waiting for paymaster.

Nov. 19. Brigade reviewed by Gen. Abercrombie. The regiment wore its new uniform for the first time.

Nov. 20. Paymaster came.

Nov. 21. Thanksgiving Day. Bill of fare consisted of turkey, chicken, vegetables, pies and puddings, for most of which we were indebted to good friends at home.

Nov. 23. Lieut. Cook and twelve men sent to Darnestown, to picket the fork of the road leading to Poolesville and Frederick. Orders were to stop all suspicious persons and all teams, confiscating all liquors found. Went on duty at eight P.M., relieving a detachment from Thirteenth Pennsylvania.

Nov. 24. Snow-storm. Lieut. Cook's party returned to camp. Glimpses of what were supposed to be reb cavalry were seen across the river.

Nov. 28. Maryland Thanksgiving Day. Rumor that in a few days the regiment was to go to Frederick. Company B was sent out to repair roads. Cold.

1861. Nov. 29. At five A.M. received orders to move. At ten A.M. marched through Dawsonville to Barnestown, where the regiment bivouacked. Company E was left behind on picket.

Nov. 30. Reveille at four o'clock. At daylight marched through Barnestown to Monocacy Bridge. Bivouacked at "Camp near Buckeye."

Dec. 2. Marched to within one mile of Frederick, and halted.

Dec. 3. Lieut.-Col. Bryan in command. Recrossed the Monocacy at a "double-quick," and halted at camp of Second Massachusetts. Company B, with men from other companies, was sent to bridge the creek with fence-rails. The regiment then crossed the creek, and marched eight miles along the Monocacy. Halted for breakfast. Bivouacked on south side of a hill, near Frederick and Baltimore turnpike.

Dec. 4. Company E rejoined regiment.

Dec. 7. Lumber arrived for winter quarters, purchased with "company funds;" said funds being money paid us by the government for rations issued, but not eaten. Numerous applications were made for passes to Frederick, about twenty men obtaining them.

Dec. 8-9. Camp thronged with visitors. Mail came.

Dec. 10. Very hot.

Dec. 11. Windy.

Dec. 12. Building winter quarters.

Dec. 14. Battalion drill (first time for several weeks).

Dec. 15. After inspection the Twelfth Massachusetts and Sixteenth Indiana passed in review before Gen. Abercrombie.

Dec. 16. First brigade reviewed by Gen. Abercrombie and Gen. Banks. On returning to camp, at six P.M., found winter overcoats had arrived.

Dec. 17. Overcoats distributed; and, in evening, quarters were dedicated by a dance.

Dec. 20. A regular New-England snow-storm. The "home-made pastry," brought into camp by hucksters, elicited the comment from one man, that, "If we should eat these pies for several weeks we should be bullet-proof, — a whole regiment of Johnnies could not harm us."

One evening a wagoner rushed into quarters with a pie

CAMP OF THE "WEBSTER REGIMENT"

1861. in one hand and a saw in the other, declaring that half an hour's hard work had made no impression.

Dec. 21. In the evening were favored with a "negro concert."

Dec. 27. Lieut. Pratt, with details from Companies D and H, was sent to perform guard-duty at Monocacy Bridge. They found a man who had belonged to a company which aided in suppressing the John Brown insurrection.

1862. Clear and cool.

Jan. 1.

Jan. 4. Snow.

Jan. 5. Mud.

Jan. 6. Orders to cook two days' rations, and be ready to move at a moment's notice.

Jan. 10. Quarters were inspected by Lieut.-Col. Bryan and Surgeon Baxter.

Jan. 14. Regiment turned out to "police camp." Each company busy building houses for its cooks.

Jan. 16. Capt. Bees visited camp, and "the band played" at evening dress-parade.

Jan. 17. Rain, snow, hail, and sleet. The men were "as those who stand on slippery places."

Jan. 18. Friends from Massachusetts visited camp.

Jan. 19. Preaching and rain.

Jan. 20. Orders to pack knapsacks with one change of clothing, and be ready to start at any time. Forty rounds of ball-cartridge issued to each man.

Jan. 22. Pay-rolls signed.

Jan. 23. Regiment paid.

Jan. 24. Capt. Bates left for Massachusetts, to be gone twelve days.

The band gave a concert in Frederick, which was very successful, financially and otherwise. The audience was large and brilliant, there being six generals present, and many distinguished in military and civil life. The "bill" and "programme" were as follows: —

1862.
Jan. 24.

CONCERT.

THE TWELFTH REGIMENT BAND,

Massachusetts Volunteers,

WILL GIVE A

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL ENTERTAINMENT

AT "JUNIOR HALL," FREDERICK, MD.,

ON FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 24, 1862.

ON WHICH OCCASION THEY WILL APPEAR AS

BRASS BAND, ORCHESTRA, SERENADE CHOIR, AND VOCALISTS.

Professor W. J. MARTLAND . . . . . *Leader.*
Professor J. W. KENNEDY . . . . . *Musical Director.*
Vocal Music under the direction of . . Mr. H. C. PACKARD.

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

1. OVERTURE. Il Turco in Italia . . . . . *Full Band.*
2. POLLACCA. Arranged by Kennedy . . . . . *Orchestra.*
3. VOCAL. "Lake of the Dismal Swamp." *By the Five Packard Brothers.*
4. PAULINEN POLKA. Gungl . . . . . *Orchestra.*
5. VOCAL. "Scatter the Gems of the Beautiful." Trio. *Packard Brothers*
6. GALLOP. "Frühlingsgrusse." Gungl. Arranged by Kennedy. *Serenade Choir.*
7. QUARTET. From "Lucia di Lammermoor." Donizetti. *Full Band.*

PART II.

1. WALTZES BY LABITZKA. Arranged by Kennedy . . *Band.*
2. VOCAL. "The Ocean Queen." From the Opera of "The Enchantress."
3. CAVATINA. Falstaff . . . . . *Orchestra.*
4. POLKA. Arranged by Kennedy . . . . *Serenade Choir.*
5. VIOLIN SOLO . . . . . *J. W. Kennedy.*
6. DRUM SOLO . . . . . *Guillaume Du Bois.*
   (For 30 years a Drummer in the French service, now connected with this Band.)
7. VOCAL. "The Husband who uses Tobacco."
8. POTPOURRI. Favorite Airs, commencing with Alt-Horn Solo. *By T. M. Packard.*

CARDS OF ADMISSION, 50 CENTS.

(Reserved seats, 50 cents additional, which must be secured previous to opening the doors.)

☞ For sale at the Dry Goods Store of G. Joseph Doll, N. Market Street, near the hall, and at the door.

☞ Doors open at 7 o'clock. Performance to commence at 8 o'clock.

[Printed by Schley, Haller, & Co., Examiner Presses, Frederick, Md.]

1862. Jan. 26. Has stormed since evening of the 16th. In the evening some of the men had a dance in their quarters.

Jan. 27. Clear and cold. Morning inspection and religious exercises.

Jan. 28. Camp overrun with peddlers. Photographic fever raged high, nearly every one having his "picture taken." Heavy snow-storm.

Jan. 29. Newspapers came.

Jan. 30. Boxes from friends at home arrived.

Feb. 5. The first fine day in the month.

Feb. 6. News of capture of Fort Henry. At evening a party went to a dance in Frederick. They wore paper collars; and, when returned to camp, a wag collected these dusty, soiled, discarded articles of neck-gear, and sent them to the laundry. At noon the next day the washerwoman's husband came to camp with the tale, that his "t'other half had washed one of them collars all to bits, and was afeerd to wash the rest."

"What kind of soap did you use?"

"Bar."

"I told you to use nothing but castile for those collars: try again."

At early dawn of Feb. 8 the man returned with the clean clothes, but no collars. He would not charge for that wash, because the collars were ruined. "But," said he, "I don't see how on airth your Yankee women wash them air things; for my ole woman did her best, but she couldn't make any kind of a show at it: she thinks they must have been made of powerful rotten stuff."

Feb. 9. A raccoon in a tree caused much excitement: missiles having no effect, one of the men climbed up, and "dislodged" him "at the point of the bayonet."

Feb. 10. The first out-door drill for a long time.

Feb. 12. Regimental drill. Snow.

Feb. 13. Drill postponed because of mud. The band serenaded the officers' ladies.

Feb. 15. Guard-mounting at nine A.M. Fine day. At night a negro named Dennis was arrested for smuggling whiskey. Manufacturing rubber rings from buttons, the prevailing mania.

1862.
Feb. 16. News of surrender of Fort Donelson. All the bands turned out, and played suitable music. Fifteen men left to serve on gunboats.

Feb. 19. Storm and mud, but good news from Burnside. Means of Company D was buried from the church in Frederick.

Feb. 20. No drill because of the mud. Rumors were plenty. Savannah had been captured without firing a gun; there was a strong union feeling among the Southern people; Jeff Davis (who had died in the previous September) now returned to life, was begging for an armistice: if Rumor had an hundred tongues, she kept them all busy.

Feb. 21. Frosty. Morning drill. Regiment mending roads. Received new canteens. Col. Webster arrived from home. Company H sent to guard supply-trains. Regiment was to do guard-duty at Fort Lafayette.

Feb. 22. Warm and disagreeable. Orders were received from Division Headquarters for the Twelfth Massachusetts, Sixteenth Indiana, Sixty-sixth Pennsylvania, and Second Massachusetts to "fall into line of march together, and proceed to Frederick, to take part in the celebration of the anniversary of Washington's birthday." The regiment reached Frederick at noon: bells were ringing, cannon pealing, the stars and stripes waving from many buildings. Marched through the principal streets (including the one near the college). When near this, Gens. Banks and Abercrombie reviewed the column.

The First Maryland was presented with two flags.

Reached camp at 3.30, being delayed by bad roads, where a very fine sword was presented to Gen. Banks.

Feb. 24. The following order was received: —

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE.

COL. FLETCHER WEBSTER.

Sir, — The general directs that you be prepared to march with your command at one hour's notice, with three days' cooked rations in haversacks, cartridge-boxes filled with ammunition, and a full supply of caps. Report immediately the condition of your command as to arms and equipments.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. B. DRAKE, *A. A. A. G.*

1862. Later in the day a supplementary order was received, requesting the chaplain to accompany the expedition as aide-de-camp.

Originally the order was to move at one P.M.; but this was countermanded, and four P.M. fixed as the hour of starting. Baggage was all packed, the batteries were all loaded on cars in the city, and the regiment patiently waited further orders.

Feb. 25. Busily engaged in selling the log houses. At evening, full dress-parade. The band serenaded the colonel, who returned the compliment in a graceful speech.

Feb. 26. Still waiting orders. During the morning the band played at regimental headquarters. Orders to march at three P.M. were countermanded by orders to move at daybreak of Feb. 27.

Feb. 27. Reveille at four A.M. At six A.M. marched to Frederick. At ten A.M. left Frederick *via* railroad for Harper's Ferry, arriving there at six P.M. Crossed the Potomac on pontoon-bridge, and reached Shenandoah Village at 8.30 P.M. Bivouacked in some old flour-mills formerly occupied by the rebs. Suffered much from the cold.

Feb. 28. Reveille at sunrise. Many of the men visited Harper's Ferry (now a mass of ruins).

Mar. 1. Cold. At twelve M. marched up Bolivar Heights, through Charlestown, passing the spot where John Brown was hung, with colors flying, and the band playing its very best music. Camped about a quarter of a mile outside of Charlestown. During the day a man had hoisted a secesh flag in the village: some of the inhabitants objected, and during the argument the man was killed.

Mar. 2. Cold. Snow. Companies B and K, with a battery, went to shell an old barn supposed to contain rebel soldiers. Very thorough regimental inspection. Company A on picket. Five prisoners brought in.

Mar. 3. Rainy and foggy. Company A still on picket, guarding a battery on a hill six miles from camp. Company G on guard.

Mar. 4. Company H on guard two miles from camp. Two companies of the Twelfth and a cavalry company, the whole in charge of Lieut. White, of Company A, went nine miles

1862. from camp, and seized three hundred barrels of flour. Company F on picket, at the Washington Farm.

Mar. 5. Company A on guard. Company I on picket. A great abundance of mutton and poultry.

Mar. 6. At 9.30 A.M. shifted camp, the Second Massachusetts occupying our old camp-ground. The new camp proved but a poor place, — muddy, with water three-quarters of a mile away. A load of straw came for the tents.

Mar. 7. Long roll at two A.M. The Sixteenth Indiana and Second Massachusetts marched, the Twelfth remaining in camp. At ten A.M. the Second and Sixteenth returned with news that the reb cavalry had captured four companies of a Maryland regiment. Burns's brigade and part of Van Allen's cavalry are camped near by. Mail came.

Col. Webster received the following: —

COL. WEBSTER: *Sir*, — I would respectfully call your attention to a fact which greatly concerns the health of your regiment. The present position of this camp I consider highly detrimental to the health of the men under your command. The ground is extremely damp, and the list of sick in the quarters is greater than it has ever been since the formation of the regiment. I would, therefore, respectfully recommend that the location of your camp be changed to some healthier position.

Respectfully your obedient servant,

J. H. BAXTER, M.D.,
Surgeon Twelfth Regiment Mass. Vols.

Col. Webster forwarded this to brigade headquarters, with the indorsement, —

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH MASS.

Respectfully referred to Gen. Abercrombie, with a request that the regiment may move its camp.

FLETCHER WEBSTER,
Colonel Twelfth Mass. Vols.

The reply came, —

HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE.

Permission to move camp is granted. Col. Webster will select a suitable site for his camp, and report its location.

By command of Gen. Abercrombie.

GEO. B. DRAKE, *A. A. A. G.*

1862. Mar. 8. Cold, threatening snow. Part of Company H sent to town to guard ammunition-trains, relieving a detachment from Sixteenth Indiana. Capt. Bates appointed provost-marshal. Drill this morning, the first for several days.

Mar. 9. H's men relieved by squad from Second Massachusetts.

PAY RECEIVED FOR HOUSES AT CAMP HICKS.

Original cost of each house	$31 00
Each sold for	8 25

During the morning one of Company D's tents was burned. Each sergeant received a sword from the United States. In afternoon full-dress parade, during which one of Company K's tents burned up.

Mar. 10. Reveille at 2.30 A.M. Orders to move at seven A.M. changed to ten A.M., when the regiment marched, leaving tents behind. At Ripon Notch were received with hearty cheers, a bevy of girls waving flags, etc. Bivouacked at night in the woods, Company I being sent on picket.

About this time the author of "Three Years in Camp and Hospital" visited the regiment. He tells his story thus: —

"I made a call one morning on Company B, of the Twelfth Massachusetts. The rain was pouring down, the mud was deep, the weather cold, almost to freezing-point, and every thing gloomy indeed. If I had been asked what motive brought me here, what could have been my answer but a love of adventure, and a disposition to go to the front. I was about to enter a tent, when my ears were saluted by a stentorian voice; which, on looking away some ten rods, I perceived came from a dark-complexioned, thick-set, resolute-looking man with a captain's strap on his shoulder.

"'This way, sir! Who are you? This way, sir!' Starting for his tent, and coming into his presence, touching my hat with as much military style as my brief experience enabled me to execute, I inquired of the stern officer whom I had the honor of addressing. 'I am the provost-marshal, sir, of this department; and it is my duty to arrest all unknown or suspicious-looking persons. Now, what is your name? and where are you from? and what is your business?' Giving my name and address, I continued, 'I furnish the army with postage-stamps; work in the hospitals when feeling like it; and, when wanted,

1862. Mar. 10. give free entertainments of singing, and lectures on temperance, and get my pay by the sale of my music.'

"'Where are the stamps?'

"'Here, sir,' opening a tin water-tight cylinder that would hold five hundred dollars' worth.

"'And do you sell them at cost?'

"'I do, sir.'

"'Are you aware that there is a penalty for selling postage-stamps above their face?'

"'I am, sir.'

"'But why do you carry them, if not to make money?'

"'To accommodate those who need them.'

"'Has the government sent you to the army for this purpose?'

"'No, sir.'

"'You have a pass, I suppose?'

"'Yes, sir.'

"'Let me see it.'

"I found, on searching my pockets, that I was in the condition of the servant girl who had lost her '*charac-ter*,'—it was not to be found.

"'So, then, you cannot find your pass? Out to the front, with no reasonable business, and without a pass; looks, to say the least, rather suspicious. Your disinterested kindness is of a pattern we are not accustomed to. I shall be under the necessity of presenting your case to the general in command.'

"'I shall be most happy to make his acquaintance, if he is a gentleman; and of course he is.'

"The provost had attempted to frighten me by a loud, sharp voice, and an imperious but unnatural manner, the reason for which was not understood at the time. I found afterwards that this was the method used to disconcert men arrested as spies. I took the liberty to tell him that such harsh words were not necessary; that they made me uncomfortable, and did no good; and wished he would take me to the general as soon as possible. A short walk to an old building brought me into the presence of Gen. Abercrombie, a small, gray-haired man, sixty years of age, erect as a well-disciplined soldier at dress-parade, voice soft, and sweet as a woman's, manners uncommonly affable, but with an eye that took in the character of the person scrutinized at a glance.

"'General,' said the provost, 'I have arrested this man as a suspicious character. He seems to have no legitimate business, and is without a pass. I submit him to you.'

1862. Mar. 10. "With great pleasantness of word and manner, he asked me my reason for visiting that out-post of the army, saying that it seemed very extraordinary indeed to find a civilian from the North there. I gave him the same story previously told to Capt. Bates.

"'Why are you without a pass?'

"'I left it by mistake with other papers in the Fourth New Jersey, Kearny's brigade.'

"After putting every question he could think of that would serve to enlighten him as to my character, he said, —

"'You appear to be a Northern man; your answers are frank; there is one bad feature in your case, — I can't understand why you are here; and, as you have no pass, I think that I must detain you until we can ascertain more about you.'

"'General, with your permission, I would like to sing you a song'

"Staring at me a moment, with a look that indicated both astonishment and amusement, he replied, —

"'We will hear you with pleasure. Proceed.'

"I struck up my song, which was then new, 'We're Marching down to Dixie's Land.'

"I had sung but one stanza, when Capt. Bates interrupted by asking if he could see the music.

"'Yes, sir: here it is.'

"'Adjutant, this way, please. You take the tenor, I will sing the bass, and this man will sing the air. Repeat the first stanza. All right. Proceed.'

"And the concert commenced. The captain, who had a fine bass voice, became exceedingly interested; and the adjutant made his sweet tenor very prominent. The first stanza went off quite well; the second much better; the third brought the general to a laugh, and a clapping of hands; and we had to repeat it. The general rose to his feet; and, seeing that I had him on my side, I forgot that I was under arrest: I seemed to be singing at a grand concert, and felt myself the most important personage in the crowd. The song concluded, the general gave me his hand most cordially. Turning to Capt. Bates, he said, —

"'You may furnish this man with a pass.'

"Right here as well as elsewhere I may say that the army had no better officer than Capt. Bates. He was promoted to the command of the regiment, and was one of the fighting men of the army. Both he and his men made a most noble record."

1862. Mar. 11. Fine. The Second New York State Militia passed *en route* from Bolivar. Company F relieved H from picket. News received of the "Merrimack" and "Monitor" battle in Hampton Roads.

Mar. 12. Received confirmation of report of evacuation of Manassas, with rumor that McClellan occupied the place. While the regiment was drilling, a battery fired a salute of thirty-two guns, by order of Gen. Banks. Marched at sunset, the regiment leading the brigade. Passed through Berryville, and bivouacked within two miles of Winchester, on ground held by the rebs twenty-four hours previously.

Mar. 13. Reveille very early. Wagons arrived at nine A.M., also the sutler, Mr. Gage. During the morning shifted camp to opposite side of the road. The regiment passed the day in hunting for relics.

Mar. 14. Warm and foggy. Two batteries passed camp. Some deserters from Jackson's command were brought into town. Two were in uniform, the remainder were dressed "promiscuous."

Winchester seemed to be a very ordinary city. It had a few fine modern-built dwelling-houses, and a few public buildings; several churches, two belonging to the colored people; and four empty banks. Of the two printing-offices, one was occupied by a company of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, which likewise held the court-house. The stores were deserted, and the place filled with soldiers. It was a city of about four thousand inhabitants.

Mar. 15. Raining hard. Van Allen's cavalry passed. Heavy firing in direction of Manassas. This proved to be a skirmish between part of Ashby's cavalry, a small body of infantry and a battery, while on the Union side were four companies of the Thirteenth Massachusetts and five field-pieces. The rebs were repulsed. Thirteen reb soldiers gave themselves up, being tired of secession. The Fourth Ohio passed on its way to Berryville. Company K on guard.

Mar. 16. Windy and cold. News of capture of New Madrid. Companies A, E, G, I, marched to the Shenandoah to build and guard a bridge which had been destroyed. Company H on patrol. Mail at night.

1862. Mar. 17. Windy. Some of the regiment visited the Medical College at Winchester, being much interested in the skeletons, some of which were said to be of members of John Brown's party. One skeleton of a negro boy had evidently been left in great haste by the reb doctors, for it was partly dissected. Another, brought into camp, was sent home by an officer. The signal for the night was red and white.

Mar. 18. Warm and pleasant. Firing heard in direction of Strasburg.

Mar. 19. Cold and windy. News of capture of Island No. 10 proved bogus. The Thirteenth Massachusetts and Ninth New York joined the brigade. Signal for night green and white. Snowed all night.

Mar. 21. At twelve M. marched. After a short distance, halted to inspect a wagon with secesh prisoners. After some chat, proceeded. Forded a stream about knee-deep. At six P.M. pitched tents at Berryville. This was the first time the new brigade marched together.

Mar. 22. Cold and stormy. Marched at nine A.M., Michigan cavalry leading, then Thompson's Battery, Ninth New York, and Thirteenth Massachusetts, the Twelfth bringing up the rear. Crossed the Shenandoah at Snickersville Ferry, marched three miles, and camped for the night.

Mar. 23. Marched at 7.30 A.M., crossed the mountain-range, and camped one mile beyond Philmont.

While passing through Philmont, a woman solaced herself with making grimaces at the color-company; and another extended like courtesies to the entire regiment. To this latter the colonel made a most profound bow.

Mar. 24. Mild and spring-like. During the morning a man in the Sixteenth Indiana was burned to death. At five A.M. started back for Winchester. Passed through Aldie, the Twelfth Indiana leading the brigade; through Snickersville and the Gap, bivouacking in the valley near the Shenandoah River. Many of the men were shoeless.

General Order No. 102 (Army of the Potomac) received, which designates the flags to be carried by corps, divisions, and brigades. The Twelfth was now in second division and second brigade. Our division flag blue, six

1862. feet long and five wide. Our brigade flag white, blue and white, six feet long and five wide, vertical.

Mar. 25. Marched at seven A.M. After travelling a mile, halted while a bridge was being repaired. Crossing the bridge, the head of the column met Gen. Abercrombie, who ordered it in the direction of Manassas. Recrossing the bridge, the regiment climbed the Blue Ridge, and bivouacked.

Mar. 26. Marched at eight A.M. Reached Goose Creek at four P.M. and camped. Turned out by a report that the enemy were two miles away, but, it proving false news, turned in again. During this day the cavalry caught a man taking the nuts from a bridge the troops were to pass over.

Mar. 27. Mild and pleasant. The Twelfth Indiana and Thirteenth Massachusetts sent out reconnoitring. A four hours' search showing nothing, they returned to camp. Large numbers of reb scouts were said to be in the vicinity.

Mar. 28. Crossed Goose Creek at eight A.M. Captured a wagon containing a reb captain and two swords. Passed Aldie, searching another wagon and a house, but found nothing of importance. Camped near Cub Run, three miles from Centreville.

Mar. 29. Fine. Marched at ten A.M., reaching Centreville at 12.30 P.M. Halting here, the men inspected the place, stumbling on a deserted reb camp, where dead horses and broken wagons were lying around in great plenty. The town seemed to be thoroughly fortified with very strong and well-built earthworks. The one church was a shapeless ruin, and the town itself was evidently "played out."

Resuming the march, the regiment journeyed toward Bull Run, passing some reb quarters evacuated only three days before, and camping at three P.M. in the huts formerly occupied by the "Arkansas Travellers." Snowed and hailed during the day.

Immediately on going into camp, the relic-hunters sallied forth, and were busily engaged in investigating the old Bull-Run battle-field.

Mar. 30. The stormy weather of the 30th did not deter these en-

1862. thusiasts, as they prowled by bush and stream searching for *souvenirs*. One of the regiment wrote to a friend as follows: —

"While visiting the battle-ground, we saw the last resting-places of many of the brave men who fell on that memorable day while fighting for the flag which we have also sworn to defend. How many of us will fall in like manner is the thought which occurred to the minds doubtless of many who were here to-day, taking a farewell glance at the last remains of these heroic fellows. We slowly and sadly retraced our steps to the camp, many of us muttering deep and bitter curses on the heads of those who had caused this unhallowed war. From Bull Run we proceeded to Manassas; and, if any one needed proof of the blighting effects of secession in the Old Dominion, they need but to go to this place and witness the scenes of desolation there presented. I could but feel, what poor, deluded mortals! Will they ever see the right, and confess the error of their ways, and return penitently to this glorious Union, which with so much ignorance they have tried to destroy?" [1]

Mar. 31. At four P.M. crossed Bull Run on an old, rickety bridge, and, after floundering over a log road, halted at eight P.M., muddy and tired, in a bog-hole near Manassas Junction. Dry land was scarce, twelve men being packed in a shed seven and a half by ten feet. Water was only one-quarter of a mile away, provided one could keep out of the bog-holes which lay in the path.

April 1. At four P.M. marched four miles up the Warrington Railroad. Camp but a slight improvement on preceding night.

April 2. Pleasant day. At eight A.M. marched along Warrenton and Alexandria Railroad, crossing Broad Run on loose boards and a fallen tree. After passing Cedar Run, found the railroad pretty thoroughly demolished; the sleepers being burned, and the rails turned into "Jeff Davis cravats." Met the Sixty-sixth Pennsylvania.

April 3. Warm. Teams arrived at 3.30 P.M. The Seventy-third Pennsylvania had seized two hundred head of cattle, and given three of the largest to the Twelfth Massachu-

[1] These words were written by a member of Company K, who was killed at the Second Bull Run, near the very spot he had visited.

1862. setts. Rumor of a skirmish between Ashby's cavalry and the advance of Banks's division.

April 4. Company F on picket. Geary's brigade camped on the other side of Cedar Run. Company H of the Twelfth detailed as provost at Gen. Abercrombie's headquarters. Report afoot that a foraging-party near camp had been attacked. Workmen busy cutting sleepers for the railroad.

April 5. Rainy. No mail.

April 6. Pleasant day. First religious services for a long while. Shifted camp. Mail arrived. Guard arrested a "Black-Horse" cavalryman and a reb spy.

April 7. Snow. One company from each regiment sent on scout-duty. Company K represented the Twelfth.

April 8. Cold and rainy. Orders received at brigade headquarters for a salute of thirty guns in honor of the capture of Island No. 10. Mud above par, and steadily rising.

April 9. Rainy. Neither mail nor provisions.

April 10. Clear. Capt. Bates, in command, with eleven hundred cavalry, went on an expedition to Warrenton. Rations arrived at five P.M.

April 11. Fine. Papers for sale, ten cents each. Mail came. Company F on picket.

April 12. Warm.

April 13. Cloudy. Rumor of evacuation of Yorktown. Gen. Buell and staff, with three hundred cavalry as body-guard, called at Gen. Abercrombie's headquarters. Heavy firing heard all day.

April 14. Brigade reviewed by Gen. Abercrombie.

April 15. Rainy. Papers received.

April 16. Pleasant. Fifteen men were sent to arrest some teamsters who had refused duty. (The teamsters "reconsidered" their refusal.) Capt. Bates, with a squad of cavalry, out scouting. About six miles from camp they captured a drove of mules.

April 17. Shifted camp. Sergeant Garey of Company H left for Washington with the mail.

April 18. 12.30 A.M. Seven companies of the Twelfth Massachusetts, five companies of Sixteenth Indiana, five companies of Ninth New York, with artillery and cavalry, silently marched from camp. At 8.30 A.M. reached the

1862. Rappahannock, and opened on the enemy's lines with artillery. The rebs were busy with the ceremony of "guard-mounting;" but they speedily waived ceremony, and replied to the cannonade. Our fire proved effective; for the enemy withdrew, and left the Union troops masters of the situation. Whereupon the "boys in blue" returned to camp. This was the first time that any part of the regiment had either fired or received a hostile shot.

April 19. Rain. Paid off.

April 20. The birthday of several of the companies. The reconnoissance of the 18th had inflicted a loss to the enemy of four killed and seven wounded. So said Rumor. Gen. McCall, with a large force, was said to be near.

April 21. Cold and stormy. Some negroes came into camp, each leading a fine horse, and offering it to the colonel as a present "to the brave Yankee boys who were fighting for their freedom." The gift was accepted. Two men found in camp without the countersign were arrested.

April 22. Fine. A party of negroes — deserters from the Confederate army — came into camp, desiring to enlist. One had stolen his lieutenant's boots, which were purchased by Lieut. Pratt; he being oblivious of the proverb anent, "the receiver," etc. Fredericksburg said to be occupied by Union troops.

April 23. Fine.

April 24. Stormy.

April 25. Stormy. Our ambulances are carrying Blenker's sick to the depot.

April 26. Fine.

April 27. Fine. Sunday. Railroad between Warrenton and the Junction finished. Another reb deserter came in. (This time a white man, born in Maine; being South at the breaking out of the war, he enlisted in Seventh Louisiana, and — left them.)

April 28. Fine. Two mails received, a week old, but "better late than never."

April 29. Stormy. Sutler arrived. Col. Webster returned from a visit home. New Orleans is captured, so is Corinth; and the rebs are "dusting" to Memphis. Thus ran the camp-gossip.

1862. April 30. Stormy. Monthly inspection. Sergeant Garey started for Washington with the reb deserter.

May 1. Raining. Abercrombie promoted to major-general and ordered to Yorktown. Gen. Hartsuff, the new brigade commander, arrived. Company F on picket.

May 2. Stormy. Gen. Abercrombie and Lieut. Appleton left on a special train amid hearty cheers. A furious thunder-storm raged, accompanied by a tremendous whirlwind. The damage was great. Tents were blown over, trees uprooted, teams landed in unaccountable places, and three sutler's wagons were blown into the stream.

May 3. Fine. Busy repairing after the storm. Gen. Hartsuff visited the camp, making a very favorable impression. Mail came, and news of capture of Fort Mason, and removal of Confederate Congress to Montgomery.

May 4. Pleasant. Lieut.-Col. Bryan left for Washington with the pay-rolls. Quartermaster Wood and Capt. Hichborn resigned. Brigade guard-mounting for the first time. The Confederate arsenal at Baton Rouge has been captured.

May 5. Capt. Hichborn started for home. Shifted camp to near Cedar Run. Gen. Hartsuff's headquarters in a large dwelling-house. Rained.

May 6. Fine, but a furious wind-storm.

May 7. Pleasant. Sergeant Burrell with four men took seven prisoners to Washington (captured at Culpepper by the Maine cavalry). Confirmation of report of capture of New Orleans.

May 8. Warm. Band mustered out.

May 9. Hot. Band left for home, amid sincere regrets of entire regiment.

May 10. Sergeant Burrell and party returned from Washington. "On to Richmond" is now "All the Rage."

May 11. Sunday. Report that the "Merrimack" has sunk.

May 12. Fine. Struck tents at eleven A.M., marched at one P.M. Company H of Twelfth Massachusetts, and Company I of Maine cavalry as body-guard to Gen. Hartsuff, followed by the Thirteenth Massachusetts and Twelfth Massachusetts, with Maine cavalry and Thompson's battery in the rear. Camped five miles beyond Weaversville. The regiment suffered greatly from the heat.

1862. May 13. Reveille at 4.30 A.M., "general" at 5.30 A.M. At six A.M. marched. Seven men were sunstruck; and a prisoner availed himself of the general listlessness, and departed. Camped eight miles from the Rappahannock.

May 14. Rainy. Reveille at 5.30 A.M. Marched two miles beyond Falmouth, and camped between Gen. King's and Gen. Ricketts's headquarters.

May 15. Rainy.

May 16. Fine. Mail. Eleventh Pennsylvania joined the brigade.

May 17. Warm. Shifted camp two miles to rear. Living in clover.

May 18. Sunday. Rumor that rebs sent a flag of truce into Fredericksburg, ordering McDowell to vacate in eighteen hours or suffer the consequences. Notified that henceforth no tents will be carried for the men.

May 19. Unpleasant day. Overcoats were packed for storage. Division review at four P.M. The guard arrested and handcuffed a man, who, if not crazy, was perfect in feigning insanity.

May 20. Warm. In Ord's division. Teams taken away, one only being left for headquarters. Orders for the brigade to practise marching every day with knapsacks and equipments. Distance to be three miles. A herd of cattle driven into camp for use of the brigade.

May 21. Warm day. Began knapsack-drill, as per order of 20th. The "shelter-tents" arrived.

May 22. Pleasant. Large tent pitched at headquarters to hold court-martial in. Slight thunder-shower in morning.

May 23. Division reviewed by President Lincoln, Secretary of War Stanton, Gen. McDowell, and the French minister. A regiment of cavalry acted as body-guard for the President.

May 24. Warm. Pitched the shelter-tents.

May 25. Packed up at two P.M., marched at three P.M. The troops were on their way to the Shenandoah Valley to look after Jackson, who had driven Banks back across the Potomac. After travelling three miles, halted to let the Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania pass. Bivouacked on a reb camp-ground one and one-half miles from Aquia Creek.

1862. May 26. Warm. At eight A.M. marched to Aquia Landing. After shipping the baggage, the regiment embarked on the "Vanderbilt" and "South America." About half a mile out, the "South America" broke down, and transferred her passengers to the "Vanderbilt;" which, after a voyage of twelve miles, got hopelessly stuck in the mud. (It was, of course, supposed the pilot did it on purpose.)

May 27. A tug-boat came to relieve the "Vanderbilt." The Ninth New York were put on board the "Nantasket," the Twelfth Massachusetts being transferred to the "Parthenia." Another tug-boat arrived with provisions. At eleven A.M. reached Alexandria, and disembarked. Col. Webster gave each man a loaf of bread, which served for both dinner and supper. During the afternoon the men visited the points of interest in the place, not forgetting the Marshall House, where Ellsworth was killed. At nine P.M. took cars, and waited. At twelve P.M. train left the depot.

May 28. At Manassas Junction. Marched a mile, and camped eleven miles from Warrenton.

May 29. Reveille at three A.M., five A.M. marched. Passed through Gainesville to Haymarket, where, after a short halt, cars were taken. After a ride of five miles, the brigade left the cars, and marched through Thoroughfare Gap, halting beside Ricketts's brigade, on camp formerly occupied by the One Hundred and Fourth New York. While passing through Haymarket the bands played patriotic airs, whereat the ladies were much provoked. At evening, orders to march again were received; but Gen. Hartsuff succeeded in having them postponed.

May 30. Reveille at four A.M. Company H sent on ahead to post guards on houses, etc. At 4.30 marched. Passed through White Plains and Salem. Camped in Piedmont Gap, three miles from Salem.

Ord's division numbers fifteen thousand men, and consists of the brigades of Ricketts, Hartsuff, Duryea, four batteries (twenty-four guns), two cavalry regiments. Quite a severe thunder-storm during the day: the regiment "took to the woods" while it lasted. Capt. Bates arrested some of Duryea's brigade for killing sheep.

1862. May 31. Reveille at three A.M., marched at five A.M. Halted at Piedmont Station, and received orders to leave knapsacks, taking blankets and three days' rations. Halted at Hackum's Station for breakfast. Then marched through Manassas Gap, and camped in a pine-grove one mile from Front Royal. Rained. Part of the road ran along a precipice fifty or sixty feet high, called "Dismal Hollow," and was travelled by the regiment after dark. The road all the way was an exceedingly poor sample of a very poor Southern highway.

June 1. Sunday. Reveille at six A.M. In the afternoon marched two miles down the railroad, and halted at Front Royal, waiting orders. Rained. Pitched tents. Twenty-five thousand troops passed, on the way to "cut off" Jackson. Any quantity of rumors.

June 2. Warm. Firing heard to the westward. At eight A.M. a deserter from Jackson's command came into camp. He had left Jackson at one A.M., and said that on Sunday Jackson's troops had been in line of battle all day, five miles from the position we had then occupied. At twelve M. marched to Sulphur Springs, between Front Royal and Strasburg: the men all "drank of the healing waters."

June 3. Warm and "muggy." Marched at seven A.M., travelled four miles, and pitched tents in a grove near Buckston. Drew three days' rations of fresh meat, — "only this and nothing more." Part of the regiment guarding prisoners, who were constantly arriving with fresh rumors.

June 4. Rainy. At eleven A.M. marched, reaching Front Royal at five P.M. Mail came. A freshet carried away the bridges.

June 5. Warm. In the afternoon knapsacks arrived. Seven or eight of the men killed and dressed a lot of sheep for the use of the regiment.

June 6. Sergeant Brown of Company A, and two of the Maine cavalry, were drowned in the North Fork of the Shenandoah by boat capsizing. Jackson's deserter visited the city in company with some of the regiment. The ladies — supposing him a prisoner — were very gracious. In the afternoon ammunition was inspected.

1862. June 7. The deserter has got a pass to his home, and leaves to-morrow.

June 8. Rainy. Sunday. Getting ready for inspection.

June 9. Pleasant. Packed up, ready to start for Washington. At one P.M. ordered to unpack and pitch tents.

June 10. Cold and rainy. "Shelter-tents" don't "shelter." Many of the men sick. Marched at four P.M. At six P.M. camped, relieving the One Hundred and Fifth New York. Some reb prisoners were brought in, and committed to the care of Company H. Signed pay-rolls.

June 11. Fine. Paid off.

June 12. At evening Gen. McDowell was examining the regimental picket-line, when the sentry demanded the countersign. McDowell refusing to give it, the guard fired, missing the general, but wounding an aide in the leg, and killing his horse. McDowell complimented the sentry for his prompt discharge of duty. (The aide's opinion does not seem to have been obtained.)

June 13. Warm. Two hundred and fifty of Shields's wounded brought in.

June 14. The slightly wounded and the prisoners left for Washington.

June 15. Was not warm, but hot. Mail came. Capt. Bates found four reb soldiers in a house. They concluded to take the oath of allegiance. Two more prisoners came in at nightfall.

June 16. Shields's division arrived, and camped near by.

June 17. The regiment, with rest of the brigade, took cars at seven A.M., and, passing Salem and White Plains, reached Manassas Junction at three P.M., where it camped. A "special train," provided for Gen. Hartsuff and Company H, ran over the general's clerk, crushing both his legs. The "special" reached the junction at eleven P.M.

June 18. The railroad for sixty miles is guarded by Gen. Geary's brigade. Gen. Hartsuff is sick.

June 19. President Lincoln and Secretary Seward visited camp.

June 20. Cool.

June 22. Mail came.

June 23. Severe thunder-shower. Brigade drill interrupted by the rain.

June 24. Thunder-shower.

1862. June 26. Close of the first year of the regiment's history. During this time it had marched seven hundred and fifty miles; and, while the losses had been very slight, the duty had been very fatiguing. The weather had been almost uniformly bad, the roads — with a few exceptions — execrable. Verily the recruiting-officer spake the truth when he said "the service afforded excellent chances for study, travel," etc. On this day the regiment temporarily severed its connection with the Army of the Potomac, being — by a juggle of words and phrases — in the third brigade, second division, Third Corps, Army of Virginia.

CHAPTER IV.

UNDER POPE. — CEDAR MOUNTAIN TO CHANTILLY.

1862. THE corps under Frémont, Banks, and McDowell were numbered respectively 1, 2, and 3, and together formed the Army of Virginia, under command of Major-Gen. John Pope, an importation from the West, brought on to instruct the troops in the art and mystery of waging war.

Possessed of unlimited self-assurance, and what the elder Weller termed "a gift of gab werry gallopin'," June 28. Pope, in assuming command on June 28, cheerfully undertook to do three things: cover Washington, threaten Richmond, and protect the Shenandoah Valley. As an interlude to all this, the utter annihilation of Lee's army was announced as being very probable.[1]

Frémont, objecting to serve under Pope, who was his junior in rank, was relieved by Sigel; and Pope began to mature plans for redeeming some of the promises he was so liberally making.

July 1. The surgeon-general of Massachusetts visited the regiment.

July 2. The batteries belonging to the brigade were out target-shooting. Daniel Donovan of Company B died, and was buried on July 3.

July 4. Warm. Marched at nine A.M. Knapsacks were left at the depot, to be forwarded by rail; and the regiment marched to Dranesville, where it received its knapsacks, and camped.

July 5. Reveille at four A.M., marched at seven A.M. Halted

[1] "I propose to defend Washington, not by keeping on the defensive, nor by fortifying in front of the enemy, but by placing myself on his flanks, and attacking him day and night as soon as he has crossed the Rappahannock, until his forces are destroyed." — *Rep. Com. Cond. War., vol. i. p. 276, Pope's testimony.*

1862. at Buckton. Picked cherries at New Baltimore, and camped for the night two miles beyond.

July 6. Regiment mustered six hundred and fifty for duty. Orders received to be ready to march with ten days' cooked rations. A member of the regiment writes to a local paper, —

"There was not a regiment in the service that had up to this time marched more miles of tedious, disagreeable travelling than the Twelfth."

The regiment remained here till the 22d.

July 14. The following modest document was received : —

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 14, 1862.

To the Officers and Soldiers
of the Army of Virginia.

By special assignment of the President of the United States, I have assumed the command of this army. I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition, and your wants; in preparing you for active operations; and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly, and to the purpose. These labors are nearly completed, and I am about to join you in the field.

Let us understand each other. I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies, — from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when he was found; whose policy has been attack, and not defence. In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in defensive attitude. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving: that opportunity I shall endeavor to give you. Meantime I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of taking "strong positions and holding them" — of "lines of retreat," and of "bases of supplies." Let us discard such ideas. The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before us, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance. Disaster

1862. and shame lurk in the rear. Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

JNO. POPE,
Major-General Commanding.

This was the precursor of a series of orders, — the famous one to "burn and destroy" may be accepted as a fair type of the whole family.

Unfortunately for this modern Capt. Bobadil, Lee declined to be ordered out of existence; and — McClellan having withdrawn from the Peninsula — the Confederate chieftain proceeded to make sundry pithy comments on Pope's glowing sentences.

July 16. At evening Gen. Banks visited the brigade, and was cordially received, the general making a very complimentary speech.

July 22. In a violent storm, the regiment marched at six P.M., leaving the Ninth New York behind to guard the town. Camped for the night at the Rappahannock River.

July 24. At 3.30 A.M. received orders to move. In fifteen minutes every thing was packed and the men ready, when the marching orders were countermanded. Pope's foraging-orders were in full force, and strictly obeyed. The only discomfort was the wretched water.

July 25. Shifted camp at ten A.M.

June 26. A violent tempest.

June 27. Anniversary of arrival at Sandy Hook, Md.

Aug. 1. Pope reviewed the troops in our vicinity. A soldier in the Thirteenth Massachusetts, after contemplating his commander carefully, remarked, "A handsome man, but I *don't see the major-general.*"

Aug. 8. Marched at twelve M.; bivouacked at dark.

Aug. 9. Marched at daybreak. After proceeding two miles halted. Heavy firing was heard in direction of Rapidan River. At four P.M. received orders to move; and, leaving knapsacks in a field by the wayside, the regiment marched with the division, reaching the battle-field of Cedar Mountain at dusk.

Banks — incensed at the remark of Pope's chief-of-staff,

1862. that "there must be *no backing out* this time, general"— had attacked Stonewall Jackson with such fury that that redoubtable leader had been obliged to put in all his available force. This, too, when his troops were numerically superior to Banks's. On finding this out, Stonewall began to press Banks; so that, when Ricketts's division arrived, the Federal lines were slowly giving way before the advance of the Confederates. Finding fresh troops in their front, the rebel lines halted, and began an artillery duel. A shell from the Confederate guns burst among the ambulances, just as Hartsuff's brigade was ordered forward; and, as the brigade filed off, a battery going to the rear with unmanageable horses dashed through its ranks. This temporarily detached the Twelfth from the rest of the brigade; but an aide informed its commander where his brigade was, and the regiment passed down the hillside, greeted with a volley of musketry, and the fire of a battery about one hundred and seventy yards away. Lying down to receive each volley, and marching during the intervals, the regiment rejoined the brigade, and lay on its arms until three A.M. of Aug. 10, Sigel's corps having gone to the extreme front.

A correspondent of "The New-York Herald" says, —

"I have witnessed many battles during the war, but I have seen none where the tenacious obstinacy of the American character was so wonderfully displayed."

An officer of the regiment wrote to a friend as follows: —

"Certainly the Twelfth behaved handsomely in this their first engagement of any importance, and remained cool and courageous under the most terrific fire of shot and shell, without replying to it for three mortal hours."

And the Eleventh Pennsylvania say, —

"Moving forward through the heavy fire, Hartsuff's brigade was placed under shelter of a stretch of rising ground. Batteries were now got into position, and the answers returned from the Federal lines were as savage as the messages received. In

1862. the comparative safety the rising ground afforded, we could distinctly trace by the burning fuse the shells from our own and the rebel batteries as they went hissing overhead through the heavy night air. The firing was kept up until after midnight, the enemy expending most of his shell on a dense woods some distance to our right." [1]

The regimental loss was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	
Killed	1	0	
Wounded	3	5	
Missing	0	2	
Total			11

Capt. N. B. Shurtleff of Company D, the first to enlist in the regiment, was the first to fall, being killed in this engagement.

Aug. 11. Hot: in camp on the battle-field.

Aug. 13. At two A.M. ordered to be "ready to move." Marched at seven A.M., leaving Company H as hospital guard. Camped at Culpeper, where, during the day, William B. Center of Company C was buried. At nightfall Company H rejoined the regiment.

Aug. 15. Rainy. At nine A.M. marched to the Rapidan River, and camped in the woods. The road was thickly strewn with *débris* of the late battle, with frequently a half-filled grave, where a hasty burial had been made.

Aug. 16. Marched at 9.30 A.M., and camped on Cedar Mountain.

Aug. 18. Orders received for teams to pack and go to the rear. Marched at eleven P.M. After travelling two miles, the wagons so obstructed the road that the brigade halted till daylight.

Aug. 19. At five A.M. marched past Cedar Mountain: the road was dotted with abandoned wagons, which had been burnt by the teamsters. Passed through Culpeper amid sneering grimaces by the Southern ladies, and halted at night on the banks of the Rappahannock. Crossed on the railroad bridge, and, after travelling a mile, went into camp. Distance marched, twenty-five miles; and yet "Gen. Halleck once said that the great want of the army was legs." [2]

[1] The Story of the Regiment, by Chaplain W. H. Locke, p. 90.
[2] Ibid, p. 214.

1862. Pope had commenced his campaign by a retreat, which was Lee's annotation on the line, —

"Let us look before us, and not behind." — *Pope's Circular.*

The days now were occupied by Pope in placing his army "in positions" from which it could "act promptly and to the purpose," and the amount of helter-skelter marching which became necessary is best shown by the diary.

Aug. 20. Marched at four P.M. Crossed the bridge to guard it.

Aug. 21. All packed up at four A.M., and waiting orders. At 9.45 A.M. the rebs shelled the regiment: our batteries promptly replied. Skirmishing with artillery continued in our vicinity for about thirty minutes, but was maintained day and night to our right and left almost incessantly.

Aug. 22. The artillery duel still continued. About noon twenty-four head of cattle strayed from the rebel lines, and were promptly confiscated.

Aug. 23. At five A.M. the river was rapidly rising, and endangering the bridge. Crossed to the north bank of the Rappahannock, Thompson's battery bringing up the rear. At six A.M. the rebel batteries opened on our column, but, after two hours' pounding, were silenced by Thompson. At seven A.M. marched in direction of Warrenton, travelled ten miles, and bivouacked in the woods.

Aug. 24. At daybreak started without breakfast. Marched eight miles, and camped in an orchard belonging to a rebel colonel. At nightfall the rebs were only two miles away.

Aug. 25. At five A.M. marched two miles, and camped on a hillside by the Waterloo Road. Hartsuff is sick; Col. Stiles commands the brigade; the entire division is together.

Aug. 26. Marched at daybreak. After travelling two miles, were ordered to return to camp of yesterday. At noon were back on the old ground.

Pope was getting badly mixed. Jackson was working between him and Washington. Lee was hurrying to join Jackson; while Pope's divisions were here, there, and everywhere. To cap all, the ubiquitous Stuart took advantage of a dark, rainy night, and raided Pope's headquarters, severing communication with Washington, and

1862. adding to the confusion. Lee had taken Pope at his word, and was gently urging him to "discard such ideas" as "bases of supplies;" while the blazing bonfires built by Ewell at Manassas showed how well the Federal general was leaving his lines of retreat "to take care of themselves."

The tale is told on the authority of Stuart's staff, that among their plunder at Catlett's Station was a new uniform coat, marked inside the collar, "Major-Gen. John Pope." In the darkness and confusion of the raid, Stuart lost his hat, which was ornamented with a long white ostrich feather. The next morning a flag of truce appeared, bearing a solemn proposal from the reb cavalry general, that there be a swop made, "your coat for my feather," under the guise of an exchange of prisoners. Fancy Pope's wrath.

Aug. 27. Hot. Ordered to march at six A.M.; countermanded. Marched at four P.M. Halted for two hours in Warrenton to let two divisions pass, then marched eight miles and bivouacked. McDowell detached Ricketts's division to bar Longstreet's passage through Thoroughfare Gap.

Aug. 28. Started early *via* Little Baltimore. After twelve hours' hard tramping, reached Thoroughfare at a little before three P.M., just ahead of Longstreet. Company H, supported by the Eleventh Pennsylvania, deployed as skirmishers through the woods. The reb pickets "skedaddled," we catching eight of them. At this juncture McDowell departed with the rest of his corps, leaving Ricketts to his own resources. The result was, that at dusk, just as Ricketts was being forced back, orders came from Pope for the division to rejoin its corps immediately between Centreville and Manassas. Marched all night in direction of Gainesville, hearing heavy firing round Manassas; Thompson's battery being charged with protecting the march, which was done by the battery going into position on every piece of rising ground. The regiment lay on its arms all night of the 29th.

Aug. 30. Marched at daylight in rear of an ammunition-train. Knapsacks were left in a piece of woods (and are probably there yet). Heavy firing was heard at intervals dur-

1862. ing the morning, otherwise there was nothing noticeable. By order of Gen. McDowell, the brigade was placed under command of Gen. Tower; and at one P.M. orders were received to support Heintzelman and Reno, who were to attack and turn the Confederate left. This proving unsuccessful, Tower was instructed to aid Schenck, Milroy, and Reynolds. The regiment formed the right of Tower's line, the Eleventh Pennsylvania holding the centre, and the Thirteenth Massachusetts the left; and the brigade is thus spoken of by Greeley ("History of the Rebellion"): —

"Gen. Tower led his brigade of Ricketts's division into action, in support of Reynolds, with eminent skill and gallantry, its conduct being such as to elicit enthusiastic cheers from our entire left wing."

Pope, in his official report, says, —

"Tower's brigade of Ricketts's division was pushed forward into action in support of Reynolds's division, and was led forward in person by Gen. Tower with conspicuous skill and gallantry. The conduct of that brigade — in plain view of all the forces on our left — was especially distinguished."

The regiment suffered severely in this action; for, when it left the field, it had lost its colonel. Cut off from his command for a few moments in the confusion of the battle, he fell, inflicting on the regiment a loss that was never forgotten. His kindly qualities had made him many friends; and the Eleventh Pennsylvania pay this graceful tribute to the memory of the first colonel of the Twelfth Massachusetts: —

"Among the losses in the brigade, outside of our own regiment, none was more keenly felt than the death of Col. Fletcher Webster of the Twelfth Massachusetts. Our first introduction at Falmouth, in the preceding month of May, had grown into an intimacy still remembered with pleasure. The colonel was a brave and chivalrous soldier, partaking largely of the warm impulses and noble nature of his illustrious father."[1]

[1] The Story of the Regiment, p. 117.

1862. The regimental loss was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	2	13	15
Wounded	1	59	60
Missing	1	62	63
			138

Sept. 1. After the battle the regiment fell back to Centreville, remaining there until three A.M. Sept. 1, when, in a cold rain, it marched on the Fairfax turnpike. After travelling four miles, it double-quicked for a quarter of a mile, and amid a furious thunder-storm formed line of battle in the woods near Chantilly. The action was short and sharp, costing the Union army the lives of Gens. Stevens and Kearney. The regiment suffered no loss, in this the closing scene of Pope's eventful campaign.

McDowell, in his official report, says of his corps, —

"For fifteen days, with scarcely a day's intermission, it was either making forced marches, many times through the night, and many times without food, or else engaged in battle. These fatigues were most severe toward the last, when, on account of the movements of the enemy, we had separated from our supplies; and many generals, as well as private soldiers, had no food, or only such as could be picked up in the orchards and cornfields along the road. In all this the patience and endurance and good conduct of the men were admirable. To fight and retreat, and retreat and fight, in the face of a superior force, is a severe test for soldiership."

Which is a glowing tribute to extract from a cold and formal official report.

"But Gen. McDowell omitted to say that all the fatigues of that campaign were endured by the men, not only without that confidence in the leading generals, from which comes the enthusiasm of an army, but with a positive aversion to them. At the very outset, by the tone of his orders and the self-superior style of his addresses, Gen. Pope made an unfavorable impression upon the troops, — an impression that was never corrected.

"With Gen. McDowell the case was still worse. Besides an utter want of faith in his competency as a field-commander, the wildest stories of complicity with the rebels were circulated and

1862. believed concerning him. During the excessive hot days of the campaign the general wore a cool and becoming bamboo hat of peculiar shape. But the troops declared that it was especially designed as a distinguishing mark to the enemy. To such a height did the feeling prevail, that, when the rumor was circulated on the last day of the Bull-Run battle that McDowell had been shot by Sigel for open acts of treason, there were few who cared to call the truth of the rumor in question."[1]

The summer campaign of '62 was ended. Pope had demonstrated that in sober verity his "headquarters" were "in the saddle;" and as he ruminated on his own glowing sentence, "Disaster and shame lurk in the rear," he bethought himself that a victim was necessary to make atonement for the long catalogue of blunders. Fitz-John Porter was designated as the scape-goat: having done this, Pope in disgust threw up his command; and the Army of Virginia huddled beneath the walls of the Capitol, awaiting the next shuffle of the cards of fate.

Meanwhile Lee was contemplating his next move.

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 113.

CHAPTER V.

UNDER McCLELLAN. — SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM.

1862. THE good people at Washington were sorely puzzled and somewhat dismayed. In their trepidation they handed the broken masses of what *had been* Pope's army to McClellan, with the prayer that he would try and avert further disaster. Meanwhile Lee, astounded at the easy victory he had gained, rapidly sketched out a new campaign; and the rebel army marched northward to Maryland.

Sept. 2. Drew rations, and during the morning marched *via* Fairfax to Hall's Hill, and camped.

Sept. 4. Shifted camp a mile. In the forenoon the rebs fired into the regimental baggage-train. At night twenty-six recruits arrived, with Chaplain Washburn (who had been sent to the regiment by Gov. Andrew).

Sept. 5. Heavy firing up the river. Crossed Chain Bridge at 10.30 P.M. Marched *via* Georgetown and Washington, and bivouacked at Leesborough. Are now in First Corps, under Hooker.

Sept. 6. Marched at five A.M. Went seventeen miles without halting. Camped near Mechanicsville.

Sept. 7. New ponchos received. Capt. Bates of Company H left the regiment, having been commissioned major of Thirty-third Massachusetts. Gen. Hartsuff and staff joined the brigade.

Sept. 8. Received new knapsacks. Marched at five A.M. *via* Mechanicsville. Travelled ten miles.

Sept. 9. Warm. Sixteenth Maine joined brigade.

Sept. 10. Reveille at four A.M. Marched on cross-road between the two pikes for ten miles. Halted on Frederick pike,

1862. twenty miles from Frederick. Reb pickets were said to be four miles away. Marched fourteen miles toward Frederick, and camped.

Sept. 12. Bad storm. Marched at noon *via* Lisbon. Halted just outside of Strawtown. Three hundred reb soldiers who were in the town left incontinently at our approach. (It turned out they had bivouacked in the same field with us.)

Sept. 13. Fine. Marched at twelve M. Reached Newmarket at three P.M., and Cantonment Hicks (or rather its site) at six P.M. Every one seemed glad to see us, and waving flags and handkerchiefs were plentiful by the wayside. At 6.30 P.M. camped on the banks of the Monocacy. Many of the regiment took occasion to visit the scene of their first winter in service.

Sept. 14. Reveille at three A.M. Marched to Frederick, remaining there one hour. Then on for eight miles to Middletown, where signs of a battle began to be manifest.

Moved to the right on the old Hagerstown pike, passing Gen. McClellan, who had been to the front reconnoitering. Reno had the left; King's division, commanded by Hatch, held the centre, resting on the turnpike; while Ricketts's division was on the right. The rebs, being on the hill-slope, could plainly see all our movements: their strength and dispositions were unknown to us. At four P.M. the whole line was engaged fighting inch by inch up the hills. Hooker had turned the rebel left; and Gibbons's and Hartsuff's brigades pushed up the turnpike, fighting steadily till nine P.M., when — having gained the summit of the pass — ammunition was exhausted. Relieved at midnight by two of Sumner's brigades, our brigade rested on its arms till daylight. The nature of the ground favored the Twelfth, so that its loss was but one man killed.

Sept. 15. At 7.30 A.M. a flag of truce came to bury the Confederate dead. At eight A.M. the regiment marched, halting just beyond Keedysville.

Sept. 16. Heavy firing in front roused the regiment early. Rations were issued; and the brigade marched, making a detour of two miles to avoid the artillery fire. Crossed Antietam Creek, and turned sharply to the left, coming

1862. into an open field whence issued heavy musketry fire. Hooker formed his line with Doubleday on the right, his artillery on a hill-crest, Meade's Pennsylvania Reserves in the centre, and Ricketts on the left. At dark all was quiet; but Hooker, — who spent the night in a barn, — before going to bed, said, "To-morrow we fight a battle that will decide the fate of the Republic."

Sept. 17. At early dawn Hooker opened the ball. During the night Ricketts and Meade had changed positions, Doubleday still holding the right. "Forward!" said Hooker, his intent being to seize the Hagerstown road, and crush in the rebel left. Across a cornfield, over a fence, still on marched Ricketts, till he stood face to face with Jackson's veterans, under old Stonewall himself. Then began a Titanic struggle. Companies E and K were deployed as skirmishers under Capt. Cook, and speedily the reb skirmish line was driven in. Our brigade struck their line of battle a little sooner than was expected, but, having found the enemy, forthwith opened. Down went Gen. Hartsuff severely wounded, down went officer after officer, until the command devolved on Capt. Cook. The dead of the regiment lay in piles, and the wounded kept thinning the line, yet Ricketts fought on. He formed what was left of his division into a brigade, and tried to advance. Failing, he notified Hooker that he could only hold on. Crawford's and Gordon's brigades, of Mansfield's corps, came to the rescue; Hooker being determined to carry the woods beyond, and to the right of the cornfield. Alas! just at this, the critical moment, Hooker was wounded; and Sumner — the "old bull of the woods" — took command. Sedgwick's division came to support Ricketts, Crawford, and Gordon; but nothing more was gained, and darkness put an end to the conflict.

The Twelfth entered the battle with three hundred and forty men. It came out with thirty-two under its colors. When the regiment was relieved, a few men left the ranks temporarily to help their wounded comrades to the rear. Its actual casualty list was, —

1862.

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	3	67	70
Wounded	9	174	183
Missing	0	30	30
			283

Among the killed was Assistant Surgeon Kendall, who was at the amputating-table when hit by a bullet.

Gen. Ricketts, in his official report, says of Hartsuff's brigade, —

"The brigade moved forward, officers and men displaying great coolness, while exposed to a severe fire of artillery and infantry."

A publication entitled, "Wisconsin in the War," says (pp. 328, 329), —

"Meade and his Pennsylvania reserves fall back. Gen. Hooker sees the crisis, and sends for more troops. He sees the danger increasing, and posts an aide to Gen. Doubleday with the message, 'Give me your best brigade.' Hartsuff, with the Twelfth and Thirteenth Massachusetts, and other troops, rushes to the rescue; and they carry a point of woods that commands the position first gained."

Sypher's "History of Pennsylvania Reserves" says (p. 383), —

"Hartsuff's brigade was moved from the right, and sent to the edge of the woods fronting the cornfield. For half an hour they held the ridge, unyielding in purpose, exhaustless in courage There were gaps in the line, but it nowhere quailed. There was no more gallant, determined, heroic fighting in all that desperate day."

The Eleventh Pennsylvania say ("Story of the Regiment, p. 127), —

"'Send me your best brigade,' was the message to Ricketts. In a moment Hartsuff's brigade, that had been in position on a slight elevation near the house of Joseph Poffenberger, came down the hill on the double-quick, through the open ground beyond and into the cornfield, passing, as they went, the fragments of three brigades shattered by the rebel fire, and now streaming to the rear.

1862. "'I think they will hold it,' said Hooker, as he saw that splendid brigade of veteran troops moving on under a galling and destructive fire. At the moment of entering the cornfield, — a conspicuous mark to the enemy, — the brave Hartsuff fell from his horse severely wounded.

"'Forward, Third Brigade!' rang out the voice of Col. Coulter, who succeeded to the command."

George N. Smalley's report to "The New-York Tribune," says ("Rebellion Record," vol. v. p. 466), —

"In ten minutes the fortune of the day seemed to have changed: it was the rebels now who were advancing, pouring out of the woods in endless lines, sweeping through the cornfield. Hooker sent in his nearest brigade to meet them, but it could not do the work. He called for another. Not hesitating a moment he sent to Doubleday: 'Give me your best brigade instantly.'

"The best brigade came down the hill, went through a storm of shot and bursting shell, passing, as they went, the fragments of three brigades shattered, and streaming to the rear. They passed by Hooker, whose eye lighted as he saw these veteran troops. 'I think they will hold it,' he said.

"Gen. Hartsuff took his troops very steadily, and formed them on the crest. Not a man who was not in full view, not one who bent before the storm. Firing at first in volleys, they fired then at will with wonderful rapidity and effect. They were the Twelfth and Thirteenth Massachusetts, and another regiment which I cannot remember.

"There they held the ridge, unyielding in purpose, exhaustless in courage. There were gaps in the line, but it nowhere bent: their general was severely wounded early in the fight, but they fought on. Their supports did not come: they determined to win without them. There was no more gallant, determined, heroic fighting in all this desperate day."

In "The Citizen Soldier," a "fair" paper, published at Abington, Mass., Dec. 15, 1869, is an account of Antietam, by one who served in the Twelfth: —

"Early Monday morning we move down the west side of the mountain; and it has a strange look to us, tired, ragged, and dirty as we are, to see Gen. Hooker in the saddle taking his brandy and water, looking as clean and trim as though he had just made his morning toilet at Willard's.

1862. "We march to Keedysville through the usual marks of an enemy's hasty retreat, — broken-down wagons, dead mules, crippled caissons, houses filled with wounded, the road strewed with muskets, knapsacks, and butternut jackets.

"At Keedysville we halt for the night, and Tuesday afternoon our corps marches leisurely up the river. There seem to be no indications of an engagement, except that Hooker looks all alive. He sits uneasily in his saddle, and his look means mischief. Suddenly a little puff of smoke shoots out of a little thicket on our right and front, and a single shell comes shrieking over our heads, and explodes far in the rear: too much elevation and too long a fuse, Mr. Reb. A few more in the same style, and Thompson's battery dashes into position, and soon makes the rebels' ground too hot for them. 'Battalion! front! forward!' we are met with a light fire from the thickets, and a dose of canister.

"A sergeant of Company G, whom we left in Washington, suddenly appears upon the scene with, —

"'Captain, can't I take my place in line?'

"'Why, sergeant! where are you from?'

"'Oh! they brought me to Frederick, and I slipped away from there.'

"'Well: but you have no rifle.'

"'Yes: but I can soon raise one.'

"'Go in, then.'

"He does '*go in:*' and, as we move on, a canister-shot crashes through the brain of a man in Company C, on our left; and our watchful sergeant pounces on him like an eagle on his prey, tears the rifle from his dying grasp, and triumphantly rejoins his company.

"Our gray-haired chaplain is full of fight, gets a musket and takes his place in line, and comes out of the evening's flurry with the traditional bullet buried in the traditional Bible in the traditional breast-pocket over his heart.

"We capture a picket-line in the darkness, among them a captain of the First Texas, a lawyer of Austin, and a man of intelligence. After this little affair is over, we lie down on our arms in a cornfield; and this captain happens to pillow his head on the next hill of corn to the writer. He tells us to our surprise that the whole rebel army is in front of us; points out the lights at the headquarters of Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet; says that the prolonged cheering we hear all along the rebel lines is caused by the reading of Jackson's report of his capture of the entire Union force at Harper's Ferry. This is the first we have

1862. heard of Gen. Miles's disaster. He tells us that South Mountain, which we had deemed a decisive victory, was in reality a defeat; as we were held in check till Jackson had bagged our army at the Ferry, and rejoined their main body.

"Picket-firing, and movements of artillery and troops, gave little chance for sleep that night

"As soon as morning dawned through a damp, foggy atmosphere, Hartsuff's brigade was ordered to fall in. Our friend of the First Texas and the rest of the prisoners were sent to the provost-guard in the rear, and we moved forward. Company I had the colors, G on the left of the colors, and C on the left of G.

"Forward, still as death, up a lane, out to the right, through a little thicket, into a plain field.

"Forward in line of battle: the fog lifts, and in an instant a rebel battery on our right opens on us, with rather poor range at first, but they soon get it closer; and by command down we go, our faces in the dust. Thompson's battery, that has followed close in our rear, unlimbers, and opens on them: other batteries in position open fire, but the enemy's fire does not slacken. Up again and onward. The shells are well aimed now, and we have gaps in our lines to close up. Through the field to the heavy fence that bordered the memorable cornfield, where, later in the day, the dead were literally piled up. 'Down with the fence, boys!' and they went at it with a will. Just then a shell struck the fence, and exploded right in the midst of us. It seemed for a moment that all was chaos, as the dust, splinters, and smoke filled the air; but it staggered us only for an instant, and, rubbing our eyes, we saw that most of us were still in fighting trim. Onward into the cornfield. Not a rifle-shot fired yet, that dreadful battery on our right still ploughing through our ranks. Still forward. Ah, there they are! a long line of graybacks is seen filing out on our left and front. 'Give it to them, boys!' This makes us feel better, as we open fire within good range. Still those dreadful shot and shell plough through Company I. We have halted now, and the battery has the exact range Just to the right of the colors it makes its fearful furrow. But the men close right in to fill the gap, with true heroism, choosing rather to face certain death than to acknowledge, even to themselves, that they are not 'clear grit.'

"But the zip of the rifle-balls grows more frequent, a terrible musketry fire opens on us, and the air seems full of leaden missiles.

1862. Sept. 17. "Rifles are shot to pieces in the hands of the soldiers, canteens and haversacks are riddled with bullets, the dead and wounded go down in scores. The smoke and fog lift; and almost at our feet, concealed in a hollow behind a demolished fence, lies a rebel brigade pouring into our ranks the most deadly fire of the war. What there are left of us open on them with a cheer; and the next day the burial-parties put up a board immediately in front of the position held by the Twelfth with the following inscription: 'In this trench lie buried the colonel, major, six line officers, and one hundred and forty men of the —— Georgia Regiment.'

"For three hours we stood this terrible fire: and, when we were relieved, our color-guard were all killed or wounded; of thirty-two men in Company G seven were killed and twenty wounded, and the other companies lost in the same proportion.

"Our brigade captured the colors of the First Texas; and, when they were delivered to the provost-guard, our friend, the lawyer-captain, said he felt quite at home."

The length of time Hartsuff's brigade was in action seems to be a matter of dispute. In the above graphic story the time is set as "three hours." Major Gould of the Thirteenth Massachusetts claimed to have timed the affair on the spot, by his watch; he says "one hour and twenty minutes:" but the official records show that the Twelfth was engaged four hours, — from five A.M. until nine A.M.

The "best-brigade" portion of the story seems to have been universally accepted. If it is correct, the message must have been sent to *Ricketts* — not Doubleday. Gen. Hooker in after-years had no recollection of ever sending such a message, and no trace of it can be found among his staff in that battle.

After the battle, and while in Washington recovering from his wound, Gen. Hooker, in discussing the fight, claimed that his corps fought the entire rebel army. It is an actual fact, that, so furious was Hooker's attack, Lee stripped his right to re-enforce his left. Had Burnside availed himself of his opportunity, Antietam might have been a decisive victory for the Union cause. Confronted by a single brigade of Georgia troops, the Ninth Corps commander, with his corps at his back, wasted time. As

1862. he *did* carry the stone bridge later in the day, when it was defended by a full division, it is no injustice to say he ought to have carried it earlier, when held only by a single brigade. McClellan's plan of battle was simple and perfect, — break the enemy's left, turn his right, and crush his centre. He succeeded in the first; Burnside failed him in the second; it was useless to essay the third, though an attack was made on the Confederate centre later in the day.

Antietam was a Union victory, for Lee abandoned the field and retreated. Its moral effect was cheering, despite the disaster at Harper's Ferry; for Lee was obliged to postpone his scheme of Northern invasion, and the war was relegated back to Virginia. And, whatever may have been McClellan's faults and weaknesses, it is simple justice to award him great praise for so inspiriting Pope's worn-out and disheartened legions as to make them capable of fighting such a battle a fortnight after their Bull-Run experience. Certain wiseacres at home, who were eternally crying, "Why don't the army move?" blame McClellan for not following Lee pell-mell. What McClellan's army *had been* two weeks before the battle should be duly weighed against what Lee's army was *after* the battle, ere this point is adjudicated.

Sept. 18. Was spent on the battle-field burying the dead and succoring the wounded. Capt. Cook commanded what was left of the regiment.

Sept. 21. Mail. Col. Bates assumed command, having been promoted from major of Thirty-third Massachusetts to colonel of Twelfth.

Sept. 22. Reveille at two A.M., orders to march having been received. At five A.M. marching orders were countermanded.

Sept. 23. Marching orders received and countermanded. Part of the regiment — alternating with part of Ninth New York — was detailed to guard rebel wounded. Cool nights, and little clothing.

Oct. 1. Heavy firing heard in direction of Harper's Ferry. In afternoon moved nearer the river, one hundred rods from the canal.

1862. Oct. 2. President Lincoln and Gen. McClellan visited the camp and reviewed the corps.

Oct. 3. Lincoln and McClellan reviewed the division, and shortly afterwards the brigade. By calling in detailed men and convalescents, the Twelfth was able to muster one hundred and nineteen men.

Oct. 4. Ambulances carried the wounded to general hospital.

Oct. 8. A new brigade-commander succeeds Hartsuff, — Gen. Taylor. Full rations drawn, the first for months.

Oct 9. The Twenty-first New Jersey halted by our camp for a short time.

Oct. 11. Brigade review. Overcoats received.

Oct. 16. Firing heard in direction of Harper's Ferry.

Oct. 21. Marching orders received.

Oct. 22. Heavy storm. Marching orders suspended.

Oct. 25. Broke camp in afternoon. Marched in a furious rain to Sharpsburg. Twelfth, rear-guard for division. Bivouacked in Sharpsburg.

Oct. 27. Reveille at four A.M., marched at six A.M. Crossed South Mountain by Thornton's Gap. Camped at Bucketts-ville.

Oct. 28. Reveille at 4.30 A.M. Marched at five A.M.; camped at Berlin.

Oct. 30. Marched at five A.M. Company H rejoined the regiment, having been relieved from provost. Crossed the Potomac at Berlin Station, on pontoons. Camped near Lovettsville.

Oct. 31. Reveille at six A.M.; drew one day's rations. Breakfasted, struck tents, and — waited. At three P.M. marched to Lovettsville, and camped.

Nov. 1. Reveille at five A.M., marched at nine. After four miles reached Waterford, — a small place, but "Union to the core." The inhabitants turned out, and, to the best of their ability, fed the regiment. Met the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts. After two hours' stay at Waterford, continued the march, camping two miles beyond Hamilton, — another Union settlement. Some recruits arrived at night.

Nov. 2. Sunday. Inspection at ten A.M. Firing heard all day. Just after "turning in" for the night, marching orders

1862. were received. After packing up and making some coffee, the regiment — waited till daylight.

Nov. 3. Marched at two P.M.; camped at Bloomfield.

Nov. 4. Marched at one P.M.; after eight miles, halted to allow wagon-train to pass. Gen. McClellan and staff were riding with the train, and were cordially received. Marched ten miles, and camped on a plantation belonging to a reb officer. If not "a land flowing with milk and honey," said plantation proved to be a fair equivalent; for eighty bushels of potatoes, two hundred chickens, and two kegs of powder were but a sample of what rewarded diligent search.

A member of Company K (afterwards killed in action) writes at this time, —

> "We are having quite cold nights now; and last night, as I was on guard, I suffered very much. There is also every prospect of our being out here the remainder of this winter, sure. It is, I suppose, all right; but the only comfort that I can get from the knowledge is, that we are here to protect our country from the hands of those who seek to destroy it. And may God give us strength, even if thousands of America's best sons, ay, and if I too, have to fall, to restore it whole and untarnished."

Nov. 5. Marching orders received at nine A.M. Moved at eleven A.M., Franklin's corps in rear, Companies H and K as rear-guard. Road obstructed by wagons, compelling a halt in front of a plantation belonging to Col. Delainia of the C.S.A. Marched four miles farther, and camped. Nearly all day the heads of the three columns of Sigel, Franklin, and Reynolds could be seen at one time. During the day met the Seventh and Tenth Massachusetts. Firing heard in the direction of Thoroughfare.

Nov. 6. Reveille at sunrise. Marched at seven A.M. Camped nine miles from Warrenton.

Nov. 7. Marched at seven A.M. Camped two miles beyond Warrenton. Pickets posted three miles from camp. Heavy snow-storm. Late at night McClellan was relieved from command.

Of all the officers in the Union army, the lot fell to Gen. Burnside to be the successor of McClellan. It was one

1862. Nov. 7. of the political moves of the war, unwise and inexplicable. Burnside's recent performance at Antietam bridge had betrayed no signal proof of ability. Being, as he was, a personal friend to McClellan, his conduct on Sept. 17 cannot be attributed to half-heartedness or lack of faith in his superior officer. Neither is it just to accuse him of timidity, for Burnside was personally a brave man. One word expresses it all, — incompetency. And into his hands were placed the fortunes of the Potomac army, and with them the fortunes of the country. The universal testimony of history is, that at this time McClellan was doing better than ever before. But the mandate was, "Away with him!" and so McClellan was consigned to quasi obscurity, and the army had a new leader.

CHAPTER VI.

UNDER BURNSIDE. — FREDERICKSBURG.

1862.
Nov. 8. MARCHED at 5.30 A.M. After plodding over eleven miles, the refreshing discovery of "wrong road" was made. Retraced the route for four miles, then marched twenty-one miles, reaching Rappahannock Station at six P.M. The division was ordered to support Gen. Bayard's cavalry, the Twelfth guarding the bridge.

Nov. 9. At daylight rebs were getting a battery in position, but a rapid movement by Bayard quashed the enterprise. At four P.M. marched two miles to Cromley's Ford. Artillery firing on the right all night.

Nov. 10. Pickets chatting across the river.

Nov. 11. Cold night. Colonel's mess-chest broken into, and contents "confiscated."

Nov. 12. An enthusiastic reb came to the river bearing a Confederate flag. Our battery attended to the matter very successfully.

Nov. 13. Relieved at nine A.M. by Thirteenth Massachusetts. Marched a mile to the rear, and camped in a fine piece of woods. Stormy night.

Nov. 14. Very windy. Brigade drill at ten A.M.

Nov. 15. At two P.M. inspected and reviewed by Gen. Bayard.

Nov. 16. Ordered to join Tower's brigade, the Ninety-seventh New York taking our place. Lieut.-Col. Allen and Capt. Ripley rejoined the regiment. At ten A.M. marched four miles to join Tower.

Nov. 17. On the road at six A.M. Marched sixteen miles *via* Morrisville, reached Deep Creek at two P.M., and camped.

Nov. 18. Struck tents at eight A.M.; after marching a few rods, halted to let Pennsylvania Reserves pass. Marched at

1862. eleven A.M. over ten miles of very bad road, well blocked by Ninth-Corps wagons. When five miles from Falmouth, passed Thirty-fifth Massachusetts.

Nov. 19. At 7.30 A.M. marched four miles, reaching Stafford Court House at noon. A good country for foraging; but, alas! Pope's orders had been rescinded. Very short rations.

Nov. 20. Artillery firing heard across Rappahannock. At eleven A.M. a violent thunder-storm. It has rained incessantly since the 16th.

Nov. 21. Storm abating. Details from regiment sent to build a bridge across Aquia Creek.

Nov. 22. Marching orders. Countermanded.

Nov. 23. Reveille before daylight; "general" at 7.30 A.M. Stacked arms, and waited for Taylor's brigade to pass, then marched seven miles to Brooks's Station. After getting into camp, Taylor's brigade marched by. They had got on the wrong road. (A characteristic of Burnside's administration.) At sunset a battery fired a salute in honor of Gen. Burnside. No rations. This was the normal condition during the stay here. The camp was christened — very truly — "Starvation Hill."

Nov. 27. Thanksgiving Day. Cold and hungry.

Nov. 28. Battalion drill.

Dec. 3. Marching orders received and countermanded. Dress-parade for the first time since July 10. One hundred and fifty thousand troops said to be camped in the vicinity.

Dec. 5. Snow. Marching orders received and countermanded.

Dec. 6. Intensely cold. Many cases of frost-bite. Absolutely nothing to eat, as usual, and very little to wear.

Dec. 9. Reveille at five A.M. Marched at seven A.M. Camped at one P.M., having marched without a halt.

Dec. 10. Marched at one P.M. After an hour's journey, passed the memorable spot where — under McDowell — we shed company-tents and regimental wagons. Bivouacked at night within three miles of Belle Plain.

Dec. 11. Marched at 3.30 A.M., reaching the Rappahannock at seven A.M. Fredericksburg was being vigorously shelled, and the Confederate lines of battle were plainly visible. The Twelfth, with the rest of Franklin's left grand divis-

1862. ion, waited for the bridges. The engineers lost ninety men while laying a bridge of nineteen boats. Orders to cross were countermanded, and the Twelfth bivouacked on the north bank of the river.

Dec. 12. Crossed early in the morning, the Twelfth leading its brigade. Formed line of battle on the south side of river. The Confederates fired a few harmless shots, and the troops rested on their arms for the night. The weather was cold, the fog seemed to pierce one's very bones, fires and smoking were strictly forbidden: that dreary night will not be forgotten by those who lay shivering in the darkness, gloomily watching the bright bonfires of the Confederate pickets.

Dec. 13. A dense fog. At nine A.M. the First Corps moved its left division. At eleven A.M. the fog lifted; and Gibbon's division, crossing the Bowling-Green road, entered the cornfield. At one P.M. the brigade relieved Gen. Taylor. In advancing, the Twelfth got separated from the rest of the brigade. The regiment advanced alone till it had expended all its ammunition, and was just rejoining its brigade when Gen. Taylor called for a charge. Over the railroad, through the ditch, into the woods, rushed the Twelfth, capturing two hundred prisoners. No supports coming, the regiment fell back slowly and in good order. On reaching the rear, rations and ammunition were issued. The Twelfth had been six hours under fire, but its greatest loss was during the last two hours. Two hundred and fifty-eight men went into action. The casualty list was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTAL.
Killed	4	10	14
Wounded	19	69	88
Missing	1	2	3
			105

Dec. 13. Rested in line of battle during the night.

Dec. 14. At three A.M. brigade marched to support Doubleday on the left. At night recrossed the river.

Dec. 15. One hundred and fifty of the brigade crossed under flag of truce to bury dead and assist wounded. The reb and

1862. Dec. 15. Union burial-parties chatted freely, and traded the usual staples of life. Both sides agreed that they were heartily sick of it, and wished "this cruel war" was over.

Gen. Meade's official report mentions an officer of the Twelfth: —

"I despatched my aide-de-camp, Lieut. Dehon, with orders for Gen Jackson to move by the right flank till he could clear the open ground, and then, ascending the height through the woods, sweep round to the left and take the battery. Unfortunately Lieut. Dehon fell just as he reached Gen. Jackson; and, a short time after, the latter officer was killed . . . The loss of Lieut. Arthur Dehon, Twelfth Regiment, my aide, is greatly to be deplored; as he was a young man of high promise, endeared to all that knew him for his manly virtues and amiable character"

Another member of the regiment is embalmed in a different fashion in the following tale: —

"Just at dusk on Friday, Dec. 12, 1862, our chaplain came up to the fire around which were gathered our colonel, Col. C—— of the Eleventh Pennsylvania, our lieutenant-colonel, and several other officers, including the sutler.

"Saluting the colonel very respectfully and awkwardly, he said, —

"'Colonel, I would like, with your permission, to go over to the farmhouse yonder, and get some supper. I have taken possession of some corn for my horse, and now would like to look out a little for myself.'

"'But, Mr. W——,' said the colonel, 'don't you know that the house is within the rebel picket-lines, and they have a battery and a picket on this side of it?'

"'Yes: but, colonel, I'm pretty hungry; and you don't think they would harm a chaplain, do you?'

"The lieutenant-colonel now broke in with, —

"'Let him go, colonel: they won't keep him long. Let me see: it's Friday to-day; let him preach them one sermon Sunday, they'll be glad enough to send him back Monday morning.'

"The chaplain did *not* go."

Members of the regiment will recognize the photographic accuracy of the above.

Col. Bates, under date of Dec. 16, 1862, writes to Gen. Schouler the following: —

1862. Dec. 15. "I have the honor to report the particulars of the battle of Fredericksburg, fought on the 13th inst., so far as the Twelfth was concerned.

"Our position at the right of the line was taken at nine o'clock A.M.: the enemy was hidden from sight by a thick wood. We remained lying down until one o'clock P.M., under a brisk fire of shot and shell, the skirmishers being hotly engaged, the balls of the enemy passing over us. During those four hours we had but one man of the Twelfth injured. At one o'clock the signal to advance was given to the whole division. Immediately the advance began, when a heavy firing of musketry broke from the whole line of woods in our front. Gen. Taylor's brigade stood the fire some thirty minutes, when ours was ordered to relieve them. As we advanced, our regiment got separated from the brigade by the retiring regiments of the Third, and continued to advance independently, taking a position, and firing until our ammunition began to fail. Our brigade had fallen to the rear, and we were alone until the third line came forward: our solid ranks broke the right of this line, which opened to the right and left, to get to the front, where it was quickly formed. We followed the regiment, Sixteenth Maine, now in our front, a short distance, and, being out of ammunition, were about to join our brigade in the rear when Col Root came to me, saying, 'Don't retire.' I told him our condition. 'Never mind,' said he, 'I am going to make a charge.' I at once gave the command to fix bayonets and file to the right of this brigade, and charged with them into the woods. About two hundred of the enemy rushed through our lines without arms, and gave themselves up as prisoners of war. We carried our position, and remained waiting some time for a support. It did not come; none was in sight; a fatal fire was still kept up by an unseen foe, and our men were constantly falling. Capts. Ripley, Reed, Packard, and Clark were already wounded, and a hundred of our men had fallen; and we were compelled reluctantly to abandon our position. I consulted with the officers, and they decided it was useless to remain; and the order was given to 'about face.' We marched back slowly and reluctantly, in good order, bearing our tattered banners with us safely. As we emerged from the woods, Gen. Taylor rode up to me, saying, 'Colonel, I am now in command of the division' (Gen. Gibbon having been wounded). 'Keep your position: there is your support,' at the same time pointing to a force just emerging from the woods on our left. This force I had before observed, and informed the general that it was a force of

1862. Dec. 15. the enemy. He looked again, and it proved to be the advance of a portion of the enemy. We were then ordered to the line occupied in the morning to await orders. As we retired, we took with us our wounded officers. After reaching our position, we were supplied with ammunition and rations. We remained under arms during the night, and early on the morning of the 14th were ordered to a new position, where we remained until the night of the 15th, when we recrossed the river with the corps. The Twelfth was under fire six hours. Our loss was made, with the exception of one man, during the last two hours of the six. During that time we lost one hundred and five out of two hundred and fifty-eight which we took into the fight. And now permit me to bear testimony to the gallantry of both officers and men. Every order was obeyed promptly; and not a man fell from the ranks except the killed and wounded, and a few who were detailed to care for the wounded. Not once did the regiment falter. As soon as one man fell from the ranks they were closed again, and officers and men were enthusiastic. Lieut.-Col. Allen was ubiquitous; Capt. Ripley was firm as adamant; Capts. Handy, Cook, Hastings, Reed, Packard, and Clark were all active and faithful in the discharge of their duties. But it is hard to particularize where all discharged their duties so faithfully. Our State flag, which is riddled and torn to shreds, I propose sending to you, to be preserved as a sacred relic, should you approve of my doing so. It can be carried no longer except it be furled." [1]

"The Boston Herald" of Dec. 16, 1862, says, —

"It was a grand sight to see the old and tried Twelfth Regiment, when ordered to the front, nearly in the centre of the left wing, led on by one of the bravest of men — Col. Bates — and his entire corps of under officers, in command of the bravest boys that ever took the field, march with steady steps and rapid firing to the thicket. They charged into the woods in face and eyes of a perfect shower of leaden hail from the rebels concealed in the trenches and brush. The brave boys never flinched, but fought until their ammunition was exhausted. On this occasion the Twelfth Regiment secured to themselves immortal honors in the manner in which they fought and fell."

[1] This flag, together with the United-States flag which the regiment had carried up to this time, were sent to Washington, and, while there awaiting transportation to Massachusetts, were burned in a fire in the navy-department building.

1862. Dec. 15. In "Campaigns of the Civil War," vol. v. p. 158, Gen. F. W. Palfrey, speaking of Gen. Franklin's movements on Dec. 13, says, —

"It is not quite clear why Gibbon, on the right of Meade, did not accomplish more. The wood was so dense the connection between his line and Meade's could not be, or was not, kept up. At least, that reason is assigned by Franklin. But Gibbon himself says, that the left of his leading brigade was thrown into confusion by the fire of the enemy posted behind the railroad embankment, and that all, except the Twelfth Massachusetts, of the brigade then ordered up in support, and posted on the left, "soon fell into confusion, and most of it retired in disorder." After all of Lyle's brigade, and all of Taylor's except the Ninety-seventh New York and Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania, had given way, Root's brigade was ordered up.

"The Twelfth Massachusetts and some remnants joined it; and the force advanced gallantly, and took the embankment and some prisoners."

An extract from a letter written by one of the regiment about Nov. 27 gives a correct idea of its condition during the winter campaign of 1862: —

"We have not food enough to keep a bird alive: for forty-eight hours not a man in our mess has had a morsel, and I am confident that this is the state all through the division. Our clothing, too — some of the boys are not half clad, and our regiment is not an exception. While at Sharpsburg ten requisitions for clothing were sent to Washington; and, after the tenth demand, some coats and pants were sent to us: but the men in the regiment to-day with suitable clothing are more easily counted than those without. There are very many men in the Twelfth who have not had a shirt on their backs for over six months; as many more are without shoes, and in this season of the year our boys are suffering greatly."

Why thus? is a very natural query. It seems that, when Burnside left Warrenton for Fredericksburg, Halleck agreed to deliver the pontoons at Falmouth simultaneously with the arrival of the army there. The movement was to be in the nature of a surprise to Lee, who was in the vicinity of Culpeper. Burnside marched his army, Halleck returned to Washington, and — failed to send the bridges. The result was, that when Burnside's heads of

1862. columns appeared in front of Fredericksburg, the pontoons were where McClellan had left them, at Berlin. And, while the unlucky Burnside was seizing every thing that went on wheels to haul his bridge-train, his unlucky army was quietly starving, and had the keen pleasure of daily beholding Lee building the trap into which they walked on the 13th of December.

Up to Dec. 11, 1862, the fault was not Burnside's. He was the victim of untoward circumstances. But for the movement across the river he is alone responsible. So tremendous were Lee's preparations that even the bold spirit of Hooker recoiled, and on that December afternoon bitterly protested against the slaughter.

The difference between Burnside at Antietam and Burnside at Fredericksburg is so great as to be incomprehensible. There were not wanting those who whispered that the Union commander had been pouring spirits down in hopes of raising his own; but this is an unsettled point, and Burnside is surely entitled to the benefit of the doubt. Lee never gained a cheaper victory.

Dec. 16. In a bitter rain-storm the regiment marched four miles, passing the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, and camping in a wood near Falmouth. Lee's batteries were busy all night.

Dec. 19. Reveille at six A.M. At nine marched without halting to Belle Plain, where we found orders sending us to King George's Court House, twenty-four miles away. Started immediately, halting once, and camped at night in a thick wood nine miles from the Court House.

Dec. 20. Reached the Court House at sunset. During the day our pickets brought in a reb so overcome by the intense cold that he could neither walk nor speak.

Dec. 21. Snow-storm at night.

Dec. 22. Marched at sunrise. Camped one mile from Belle Plain, and began to build winter quarters. The regimental outfit consisted of two axes, three hatchets, and one hammer; but by New-Year's Day the huts were finished, and the regiment in its winter quarters. Officially known as "Camp near Belle Plain," it is doubtless more familiar to the men of the regiment by the title of "Smoky Hollow." A brook ran through the camp.

1863. Jan. 1. Dawned bright and cold, and with it came news of the Emancipation Proclamation. Many were opposed to this; but, ere the war closed, opinions were changed.

Jan. 3. Dress-parade; the colonel standing in solemn state on —

"The rude bridge which spanned the flood,"

and adding to his list of sobriquets that of "Napoleon on the Bridge of Lodi."

Jan. 12. Battalion drill: in the afternoon the division was reviewed by its new commander, Major-Gen. John C. Robinson of Binghamton, N.Y.

Jan. 16. Changeable weather; frequent light falls of rain.

Jan. 17. Orders to be ready to move at any moment.

Jan. 20. Broke camp at eleven A.M. Marched in direction of Banks's Ford. Late at night, amid a furious rain-storm, bivouacked in a ploughed field four miles above the Ford.

Jan. 21. At daylight every thing one sea of mud. An order from Burnside was read to the troops, running something thus: —

"We are now going to cross the Rappahannock and give the enemy battle. Now is the time to strike a blow at the heart of the rebellion; and, men, make the blow decisive."

The regimental response was a grim shout of, "Played out!" "Played out!"

At eight A.M. marched four miles, and camped in a wood two miles from the river.

Jan. 22. Burnside discovered that his army was "stuck in the mud." (We had known that for twenty-four hours.) Orders were issued for the men to return to their old camps. Then began the episode known to history as "Burnside's Mud March." (At the time it was styled "Burnside's Virginia Reel.") The surface of the country was a vast level plain of mud, with an occasional hill-top peering out; rain was steadily falling; a dismounted cavalryman, as he floundered by, averred that "the whole bottom had fallen out of the blessed country." It has often been described: it is useless to try to add any thing to the picture, for the wildest narrative would fail to do

1863. full justice to the subject. A rumor obtained full credence at the time that an entire wagon-train had suddenly disappeared, the only survivor being a disconsolate quartermaster, who saved himself by clinging to the topmost branches of a large tree. Through all this, in squads of twos and threes, Burnside's unfortunate army splashed, swam, and floundered in the endeavor to regain its old camping-grounds.

The rebs on the south bank of the river kindly volunteered all manner of verbal assistance; and in one place they scrawled on boards the too true tale, "Burnside's army stuck in the mud," and exposed it where it could be plainly read from the opposite side of the river. Profuse in offers to aid in laying our pontoons, they jeered and laughed at the unhappy predicament of the Union army, which — without an ounce of dry powder — had to "grin and bear" all these buffets of evil fortune.

Jan. 23. At nightfall nearly all the regiment was collected at Smoky Hollow, where, luckily, it found its huts still standing.

Jan. 24. Was spent in repairing damages and cleaning up.

Jan. 25. Burnside — at his own request — was relieved from command. His last official utterance was a demand for a sweeping dismissal of many of the principal officers under him; being refused this, he tendered his own resignation, which — not accepted — led to his final action of requesting to be relieved from command.

A certain rosy-faced and daring officer, who had won on the Peninsula the title of "Fighting Joe," — who had gained much glory at South Mountain and Antietam, and who had been very outspoken in scathing denunciation of men and methods, — was designated as the successor of Burnside: and to his charge were committed the weary, half-clothed, half-fed multitudes that composed the Army of the Potomac.

Half-fed and half-clothed? Yes. The men were suffering fearfully for lack of proper clothing and sufficient food. But it is difficult to place the blame for this state of things where it belongs.

It was impossible for our quartermaster to obtain cloth-

1863. Jan. 25. ing, although he made frequent requisitions for it. Marching-rations only were allowed, and, being ordered issued for several days, would frequently be ruined by rain and dampness before others were due. Frequent changes of bases of supplies, and limited transportation, added much to these troubles. Cold weather and hard work gave the men keen appetites; and three, five, and eight days of insufficient rations frequently disappeared from this cause much sooner than intended.

CHAPTER VII.

UNDER HOOKER. — CHANCELLORSVILLE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 26, 1863.

1863. MAJOR-GEN. HOOKER.

General, — I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think, that, during Gen. Burnside's command of the army, you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you, nor Napoleon if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

1863. With this letter in his pocket Hooker assumed the command, and straightway order began to come out of what had been chaos. The old unwieldy system of grand divisions was promptly abolished, and the army divided into corps; the Twelfth now being in the second brigade, second division, First Corps, its badge the familiar white circle. As speedily as was possible the men were clothed, and the commissary was sharply looked after.

"Smoky Hollow," the camp of the Twelfth, was near Fletcher's Chapel, "an unpretending frame-building, thirty feet long and forty feet wide. The disproportion in its width was owing to an addition to one side of the main edifice; an afterthought, we were told, for the accommodation of the colored people, as the church was without the gallery usually appropriated to their use." [1]

"Every man weighing not more than one hundred and forty-five pounds, during the four months of our stay at Fletcher-Chapel camp, consumed nearly three times his weight in coffee and sugar, bread, meat, onions, and potatoes." [2]

Desertion, which under the Burnside rule had been alarmingly frequent, was promptly checked. A system of ten-day furloughs was instituted, drills and inspections kept the men busy: in a little while they looked on the past as a hideous dream, and turned hopefully to the future.

Among other new features introduced were the brigade bakeries, which issued fresh bread daily to the troops. Though some growled at first, averring that the bread was "not half kneaded," the general view was, that it was a needed luxury; and the faint growl of discontent speedily stilled.

Jan. 26. Paymaster arrived. One gill of whiskey issued to each man.

Feb. 8. Fifteen men from Thirteenth Massachusetts, ten from Sixteenth Maine, and ten from Twelfth Massachusetts, detailed as provost at division headquarters. The system of furloughs began.

Feb. 9. Detachment out building a bridge. In the afternoon Gen. Hooker visited the regiment.

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 171. [2] Ibid., p. 188.

1863. Feb. 10. Adjutant Haviland (captured at Second Bull Run) returned to the regiment.

Feb. 12. One hundred and forty-six men called for picket, the regiment only had ninety-three for duty: these, therefore, had a forty-eight hours' tour of picket duty.

Feb. 14. Bakeries finished, and from this date soft bread was issued daily. Rained and snowed steadily till Feb. 19,

Feb. 19. when a picket detail took every man in the regiment, camp-guard, "pioneers and all."

Money scarce; sutler's prices high.

	PER LB.
Butter	.80
Cheese	.40
Tea	$3.00

And the goods were of decidedly poor quality, even when measured by the sutler's gauge.

Feb. 22. Washington's birthday; batteries fired a national salute.

Mar. 1. High wind and driving rain.

Mar. 2. Received a new stand of colors from Boston. All sorts of weather during the night, ending in frost, which made it bad for the barefooted men, of whom there were several.

Mar. 10. A horse and equipments presented to Major-Gen. Reynolds.

Mar. 11. Ordered to retain all bags for use as gabions.

Early in afternoon Col. Bates returned from furlough. Had called on Gov. Andrew, who promised to try and get the Twelfth ordered home to recruit; "it being the smallest Massachusetts regiment in the field, its highest aggregate falling short of three hundred men for duty."

In a regimental order of this date is the following: —

"The colonel commanding will make the effort to take the regiment to Massachusetts for the purpose of recruiting: should he succeed, he hopes the little band of braves remaining will please their friends at home as much by their gallant and soldierlike bearing as they have by their unflinching courage in the field. If he fails in his attempt, he still would have the Twelfth as marked as it ever has been in all that makes the true soldier and patriot.

"JAMES L. BATES,

"*Col. Commanding.*"

1863. Severe snow-storm. Division review in afternoon.

Mar. 19. Mar. 20. Corps review. Stormy weather for a week.

Mar. 26. Orders received reducing baggage. Wall-tents to be substituted by shelters, pack-mules instead of wagons, two mules to carry line-officers' baggage, staff to carry their own. A rumor was abroad that Hooker had signed the papers returning the regiment to Massachusetts.

Mar. 27. The pickets brought in one hundred reb deserters. The pack-mules arrived.

Mar. 28. The entire regiment on picket. Furloughs stopped.

April 2. Adjutant Haviland having been honorably discharged, Lieut. Charles C. Wehrum was appointed adjutant. The regret felt at parting with Adjutant Haviland was somewhat relieved by the knowledge that he had a worthy and able successor.

At ten A.M. Gen. Hooker reviewed the corps.

April 4. A detachment of signal-corps arrived at headquarters.

April 5. Col. Bates received a letter from Gov. Andrew, saying that he "had no power to remove a regiment from the field, but had made application to the Secretary of War, whose decision would be final."

April 6. President Lincoln and wife visited camp.

April 15. Marching orders were postponed because of bad roads.

April 16. At three A.M. received marching orders.

April 17. Orders to move were countermanded. Notice was given, that hereafter troops would be required to carry eight days' rations.

April 21. Gen. Henry Baxter of Michigan — who won his star at Fredericksburg — commands the brigade.

April 23. Notified to be ready to move.

April 28. Struck tents at twelve M. At one P.M. marched. After eight miles journey in a drenching rain, overtook the Sixth Corps, and camped.

April 29. At five A.M. a heavy fog. Hooker's famous order, "Let your watchword be fight! *fight!* FIGHT!" was read to the men. Marched to Pollock's Mills. Heavy artillery firing heard all day.

April 30. Found the regiment lying in support on the flats below Falmouth, and vigorously shelled by the enemy. The division suffered considerably, one shell inflicting a serious

1863. loss in the Thirteenth Massachusetts. The Twelfth escaped with but one casualty, — Thomas B. Critchet of Company I losing a leg.

Just as the reb batteries opened on the division, the commissary was issuing rations. The stampede among the teamsters can easily be imagined. They fled incontinent, abandoning every thing, probably "for lack of sufficient transportation." After the division was withdrawn to the shelter of a ditch, a rumor that a barrel of whiskey was among the abandoned stores induced many exploring parties to defy the rebel batteries, and diligently search for the treasure. If found, it was never heard from.

When retreating to the shelter of the ditch, Garrett Harnett of Company I brought off the colors of the One Hundred and Fourth New York, which had been left on the ground by that regiment.

May 2. At midnight reached the right of the line, twelve miles above Fredericksburg, and deployed as skirmishers through the woods.

May 3. Found the regiment in rear of the reb line of battle, where it captured one hundred and one prisoners and two commissioned officers, to say nothing of a picket-line which was induced to accept our hospitalities. Skirmished all day. Relieved by the One Hundred and Thirty-sixth Pennsylvania at nightfall, the regiment fell back into some strong breastworks. During the night two false alarms. During this day Col. Bates, while out reconnoitring, stumbled on two reb soldiers who were washing in a brook. So stern and confident was the colonel's manner, that he actually arrested them for straggling, and brought his captives safely to our skirmish-line.

May 4. Hall's battery, the Twelfth and Thirteenth Massachusetts, accompanied by Gen. Robinson, made a reconnoissance to near Ely's Ford. Finding the enemy in force, and being under orders not to bring on an engagement, the party retraced its steps; the Thirteenth losing some men by the enemy's fire.

May 6. Recrossed the Rappahannock, and camped at White-Oak Chapel.

1863. May 6. Chancellorsville was over: the regiment's loss was slight, yet its duty had been wearisome and trying. From April 28 to May 8 it had marched over one hundred miles with less than forty-eight hours' sleep.

Chancellorsville is one of the debatable battles of the Rebellion: it *ought* to have been a Union victory; it can hardly be styled a Federal defeat.

Hooker's initial steps have ever received unlimited praise; for he not only crossed the river, but obtained a strong foothold with very trifling loss to himself. He did what was rarely done during the war, — outgeneralled Lee. Then the tide turned, and the Union army began to meet mishaps.

Gen. A. B. Underwood, in his "History of Thirty-third Massachusetts," has made an exhaustive analysis of the battle: it is not proposed to repeat the operation in this history; but, roughly outlined, the facts seem to be these: —

1. Hooker's scheme to feint with his left and strike with his right succeeded admirably.

2. It compelled Lee to adopt a measure opposed to all military law; i.e., divide his forces in front of an enemy.

3. The disaster on the right on Saturday evening was not the fault entirely of the Eleventh Corps. Repeated warning had been given, Hooker had been notified, Jackson's flanking march was plainly visible from the Union lines, yet the Eleventh Corps were caught with stacked arms while cooking their suppers.

4. The fault is hardly Hooker's; for at 9.30 that morning he personally inspected the right, and warned Howard that it was not strong enough. Howard did not even have a skirmish-line out to protect his front.

5. Sickles contrived to get the centre of the line some two miles out to the front in a wild-goose chase after Jackson's wagon-train, thereby isolating the Eleventh Corps, and depriving it of proper support. Not content with this, he actually borrowed a brigade (Barlow's) from the Eleventh Corps to assist in his quixotic enterprise.

6. After Jackson's attack, the general position of the Union army was that of a wedge; the point being in Lee's

1863. centre, thus dividing his army, and still giving the chances of success to Hooker.

7. The troops which had been operating on the left, below Fredericksburg, were ordered to march instanter *via* the Plank Road to Chancellorsville, thus putting the Sixth Corps squarely in rear of Lee's right wing.

8. Sedgwick moved very cautiously, was deceived as to the numbers in his front, and — was behind time.

9. At this, the critical period, Hooker received a severe injury; and lack of concerted action on the part of the Union generals gave Lee his opportunity, which he was not slow to seize. Leisurely crushing Sedgwick, he connected his two wings, — heretofore separated, — and then turned his whole army on Hooker.

10. Yet Lee offered no serious resistance to Hooker's retreat across the river.

The question of numbers engaged is often spoken of. Hooker's army was to Lee's as three is to two; and Hooker's own declaration that he commanded "the finest army on the planet" is frequently put in evidence against him.

It was a fine, if not "the finest," army. Had it not been such, it would never have survived the incompetent hands which at times had guided it. But it should be remembered, that the term of service of many of the troops was expiring; and many will recall the great difficulty experienced in keeping some of the nine-months' and two-years' regiments up to their agreement.

However, Chancellorsville gave the rebs a new soubriquet for Hooker. Henceforth they knew him as "Fallen Joe."

May 8. Camped in woods one mile from river and four miles below Fredericksburg.

May 9. Fine spring weather.

May 26. News of capture of Vicksburg.

May 27. Marching orders received and — countermanded. Then came the stereotyped warning, "Be ready to move at a moment's notice."

May 28. The balloon went up from the regimental camp.

May 30. Corps review.

1863. "Toward the latter part of May the camp was astir at midnight by a report that the enemy was crossing the river in large force. Wagons were packed and moved out to the road, and the troops got in readiness to form in line at a moment's notice. But it turned out to be a false alarm, thus accounted for by one from the south side: 'Night before last, a party of Mississippians undertook to draw a seine in the river near Knox's Mill. The Yankees concluded that the Rappahannock was being crossed by the Confederate army, and at once the heavens were illuminated with their rockets. The picket-lines were doubled, and the whole camp gave every indication of fearful apprehension. Fallen Joe, however, was permitted to pass the night unmolested.'" [1]

June 4. Orders to move received. When every thing was all nicely packed, the countermand was received.

June 5. The Sixth Corps passed camp in the afternoon.

June 6. Marching orders came at two A.M., but afternoon found the regiment still in camp. During the afternoon a division of the Sixth Corps was seen crossing the river. At four P.M. a heavy thunder-shower.

June 7. Two regiments left the brigade on a secret errand. Heavy firing heard nearly all day. Cold night.

June 8. Still heavy firing on right. In the afternoon every man in the regiment was sent on picket. During the past thirty-six hours there have been three thunder-storms.

June 9. At night there was a grand serenade to headquarters.

June 10. Reveille at five A.M. For two hours the reb batteries amused themselves by firing over the regimental camp. At night the pickets brought in two colored men and three rebs.

June 11. At four A.M. the following order was received: —

"All men that are not attached to regiments, all extra baggage, and all wagons, are to be taken to the rear. The troops are to hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice."

The nine-months' regiments departing so reduced the First Corps as to make it the smallest in the army.

June 12. A deserter from the Nineteenth Indiana was shot at noon. At three P.M. the regiment marched in direction

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 210.

1863. of Warrenton. Travelled twenty-five miles in fifteen hours, and camped at Rappahannock Station.

June 14. Marched at five A.M.

June 15. Reached Manassas at two A.M., having tramped twenty-four miles. Gen. Reynolds is in command of the right wing, consisting of First, Third, and Eleventh Corps, with Buford's cavalry and some batteries. Early in the morning a deserter from some regiment was shot. The sad duty fell to twelve men of Company E. Nine balls took effect in the poor fellow's body. Marched at six A.M., reaching Centreville at two P.M., where division line of battle was formed. The First Corps was rear-guard, and the rebs could be plainly seen on the mountains in the distance. Since June 12 the regiment has marched seventy miles.

June 17. Reveille at one A.M.; marched at four A.M. Very hot, 100½°. Made a short halt at Guilford's Station, then on for eight miles, camping at Leesburg after a fourteen-miles' journey.

"On the march from Centreville to Guilford's Station two clerks belonging to the brigade commissary fell into the hands of Mosby." [1]

The head of Reynolds's column entered Leesburg as Mosby was leaving. Heavy firing heard to the right. Guerillas were thick as blackberries. During this day's tramp a woman marched in the ranks, carrying the accoutrements of an exhausted soldier.

June 18. At five A.M. struck tents. After waiting and baking in the hot sun till one P.M., tents were pitched again. We had a citizen prisoner with us this day, to cheer us with his conversation. Rank secesh, probably a guerilla. During the afternoon Major Handy left camp for Gen. Hooker's headquarters. Soon afterwards a man from some regiment brought in the tale that the major had been captured by guerillas, with two officers of another regiment.

June 19. Struck tents at noon; marched at four P.M. Travelled three miles, and reached Guilford Station. The signal corps marched with the regiment. At Guilford Station

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 217.

1863. Major Handy appeared, being very unconscious that he was a captive in the hands of the "chivalry" (?). Rained all night. After turning in, were ordered to march to Goose Creek. Packed up and waited an hour, when the countermand came, finding every one wet and ill-tempered.

June 20. At two A.M. the signal-corps sent up two rockets to open communication with the Eleventh Corps. No response came. In the morning, however, the Eleventh Corps arrived. A bushwhacker was found prowling around the camp and promptly arrested.

June 21. Still raining. News of a cavalry fight near Aldie. A guide, and a member of the Thirteenth Massachusetts, were caught by Mosby.

June 22. Drew clothing, the first time since — no man can recall when. During the morning Gen. Reynolds with two of his staff narrowly escaped capture by guerillas under Mosby himself, while stopping at a house very near to camp.

June 23. Four of Company H were detailed to guard the mail-wagon to Fairfax.

June 25. Marched at nine A.M.; crossed the Potomac on pontoons at Edward's Ferry, the First Corps being the first to enter Maryland. Marched ten miles in a rain-storm, camping at Poolesville.

June 26. Marched at four A.M. *via* Barnesville, Greenfield, and Adamstown. The regiment is two years old to-day.

June 27. Marched at six A.M.; crossed Blue Ridge, and camped at Middleton. Gen. Hooker, at his own request, was relieved from command.

During the two years of its service the regiment marched 1,476 miles.

Gen. Hooker, in his testimony before the Committee on Conduct of the War, declared, that, had Halleck been in the rebel interest, he could not have done more damage to the Union cause. And the inner history of this portion of the war period does show a tremendous amount of quarrelling between Hooker and Halleck.

In many respects Hooker was the best army commander the regiment had seen up to this time: in one very essen-

1863. tial item he won the hearts of the men, for he *fed* them. And, if the army was in bad trim when McClellan took it from Pope, it was in worse plight when Hooker received it from Burnside.

Hooker's handling of the army while in command of it has been matter of profound study. His Chancellorsville campaign is something remarkable for its brilliant opening and futile ending. But his march from the Rappahannock to the Potomac is as fine a piece of grand tactics as the war history shows. Ignoring all Lee's feints and demonstrations, he steadily swung his army on the arc of a circle, ever keeping between Lee and the capital. It is matter of record that Lee did not know Hooker had crossed the Potomac until some days after: it is also of record that Hooker could locate Lee at every moment of his march. Certainly, to be able to accomplish this is proof of good generalship. When relieved, Hooker was marching direct on Lee's communications. And it was that march which brought on the battle of Gettysburg. Hooker had faults; but he had many virtues, not the least of which was, he never said "Go," but always "Come." And an officer whose characteristic is this can work wonders with his men.

The corps system, with its distinguishing badge-marks, though suggested by Kearney at Fair Oaks, was a legacy of Hooker, which endured while the Potomac army lasted. And though the pack-mule idea was found to be impracticable (it giving seventy thousand rounds of ammunition to Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville), yet the making the troops carry eight-days' rations was a legacy of Hooker, adopted by all after-commanders.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNDER MEADE. — GETTYSBURG.

1863.
June 29. AFTER a march of twenty-three miles, the regiment camped at night a little north of Emmettsburg, Md.

June 30. Moved two miles farther north, and rested for the day.

July 1. Struck tents at four A.M., and, after a march of a few miles, reached Gettysburg, Penn., where the regiment halted in front of the Theological Seminary, about one and a half miles west of Gettysburg.

It then moved by the flank to the north, keeping behind the ridge, and formed line along the Mummasburg Road, facing to the north-west.

"At this time no enemy was visible in our immediate front, except a line of skirmishers, whose position behind a stone wall gave them an opportunity to annoy us considerably. They were handsomely dislodged by Company K, Capt. Hazel, who, deploying his company, moved forward at a double-quick, and drove them at the point of the bayonet." [1]

"The enemy making a demonstration on our left flank, the brigade rapidly changed front forward on its left, occupied the crest of the hill; and, each regiment opening fire as soon as in position, the whole line was soon engaged." [2]

In our front, coming through the wheatfields, we counted three lines of battle; and away off in the distance we could plainly see heavy re-enforcements approaching. The war-office maps locate the regiment between the Eighty-eighth and Ninetieth Pennsylvania. The colonel of the Twelfth reports his regiment as between the Ninetieth Pennsylvania and Eighty-third New York. [3]

"A second change of front by the regiment enabled it to deliver a destructive enfilading fire into the advancing lines of the

[1] Adjutant-Gen. Rep. Mass., 1863, p. 603. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

1863. July 1. enemy at short range, while the troops on its left received them with a steady and rapid fire in front. This soon brought the enemy to show the white flag," [1] —

and resulted in the capture of what was left of Iverson's North-Carolina brigade.

"The enemy was now observed bringing up heavy re-enforcements against our front, and advancing a brigade against our right, making another change of front necessary. . . . This was quickly and handsomely done by the two right regiments (Ninetieth Pennsylvania and Twelfth Massachusetts), and we were thus enabled to hold our ground against a vastly superior force for more than an hour." [2]

Ammunition being "nearly all expended," Baxter's brigade was withdrawn, Paul's brigade relieving it; but the need of troops on the line was so great, that, after a short rest, Baxter's brigade

"was once more marched to the crest of the hill, a little to the left of its former position, and, being entirely out of ammunition, was ordered to fix bayonets, and hold the hill against assault. It remained in this position, exposed to the enemy's fire of artillery and infantry without the power to return a shot, until, the right of the line giving way and exposing its right flank, it was ordered to fall back to Cemetery Hill." [3]

Gen. Robinson claims that his division "held the ground after all other troops had retired, and fell back fighting with the enemy, not only in front, but on both flanks." The claim has never been disputed.

When the division reached Cemetery Hill, Robinson found that of 2,500 men taken into the action, he could muster but 833.

Doubleday says the corps entered the fight with 8,200 men, and came out with 2,450.[4]

Our brigade carried 1,100 men into the action. (The authority is the brigade adjutant-general.)

The regimental loss was, —

Killed	9
Wounded	41
Missing	61
	111

[1] Adjutant-Gen. Rep. Mass., 1863, p. 604. [2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. [4] Rep. Com. Cond. War, p. 309.

1863. We began the battle with about two hundred men.

Gen. Robinson, in his official report, says, "No soldiers ever fought better, or inflicted severer blows upon the enemy."

Col. Coulter (who commanded the first brigade after Gen. Paul was wounded) reports, "Not a single case of faltering came to my notice."

The Eleventh Pennsylvania, in their History, in speaking of the retreat to Cemetery Hill, say, —

"But that retreat was not all confusion. The same noble corps that had so successfully maintained its ground on the left, when resistance was no longer possible, fell back in solid phalanx. And though —

"'Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Volleyed and thundered,'

shoulder to shoulder they marched, rank after rank halting to fire upon the advancing foe, and then closing up again with daring coolness."[1]

July 2. The regiment was in various parts of the line, acting as support.

July 3. During Lee's famous cannonade the Twelfth was on Cemetery Hill, and, with the Ninetieth Pennsylvania, was ordered to assist in repulsing Pickett's historic charge.

The regimental loss, during July 2 and 3, was three wounded, making the total casualties for the three days at Gettysburg, —

Killed	9
Wounded	44
Missing	61
	114

July 6. The regiment remained on the field till July 6, when, at five A.M., it marched with the First and Third Corps to Emmettsburg, eight miles.

July 7. At six A.M. marched *via* Mechanicsville, Katoctin Furnace, and Hamburg to Belleville, twenty-two miles.

[1] The Story of the Regiment, p. 232.

1863. Company H being absent guarding a wagon-train, the regimental strength was seventy men.

July 8. Company H rejoined early in the morning; and the regiment marched by the Middleton Road to South Mountain Pass, eleven miles, where it intrenched.

July 9. Marched at three P.M.; went six miles and camped.

July 10. Marched at six A.M. through Boonsborough, five miles, and intrenched.

July 11. First Maryland joined the corps.

July 12. Marched to Funkstown, five miles, skirmishing slightly with the enemy's pickets. Captured four prisoners.

July 13. At daylight Lee's batteries opened on Gen. Robinson's headquarters, doing no damage, and being silenced by our guns. In the afternoon the Fifty-first, Forty-sixth, Thirty-ninth, and Eighth Massachusetts joined our division. One hundred and fifty prisoners passed on their way to Frederick.

July 14. Marched to Williamsport, eight miles. Rainy.

July 15. Marched through Keedysville to Rhoversville, twenty-two miles. Violent thunder-storm.

July 16. Marched through Crampton Pass to near Berlin, eight miles. Capt. Hastings rejoined the regiment.

The battle of Gettysburg has probably provoked more controversial discussion than any other event of the war. All manner of claims have been made, and each claimant insists on his gospel being the true one. Such being the case, it is not designed to enter into any elaborate discussion of the battle, but simply to glance at a few of the salient points of the controversy.

1. Longstreet is authority for the statement, that it was not until night of June 28 that Lee knew the Union army had crossed the Potomac. The information then was, that Hooker was marching north-westerly on Lee's communications. No further news seems to have reached Lee until the forenoon of July 1, when the battle opened. So Lee was in a measure surprised, and was certainly caught in the midst of a movement of concentration; for Early's division did not reach Gettysburg till about three P.M., when it drove in the Eleventh Corps, and compelled the retreat of the First Corps. Johnson's division reached

1863. July 16. the field at dark, Anderson's division late in the afternoon, and Longstreet's Corps on the morning of July 2. So, out of nine divisions composing the Confederate army, Lee fought the battle of July 1 with four (Heth, Pender, Rodes, Early), the latter only arriving at the close of the fray.

2. Meade was not unprepared, though his much-talked-of Pipe-Creek order was misconstrued, and has been elevated to the position of a great bugbear. It was simply a warning to the corps commanders, indicating their action in the event of certain contingencies arising. Meade had no specific intention of fighting a battle at Gettysburg, a place of which he declares he "knew absolutely nothing;" but his orders manifestly show he fully intended to fight Lee at the very earliest opportunity.

3. Reynolds, who commanded the left wing, knew not only that he was close to the enemy, but also had a fair guess at Lee's positions. At 10.30 P.M. of June 30, he received this message from Buford (who was picketing the roads north and west of Gettysburg): —

"I am satisfied that A. P. Hill's corps is massed just back of Cashtown. . . . The enemy's pickets, infantry and artillery, are within four miles of this place [Gettysburg]. . . . Ewell's corps is crossing the mountain from Carlisle. . . . Longstreet is behind Hill."

Which actually was the position of Lee's army at that time.

To clinch this still more, Buford was that night at Reynolds's headquarters, and came back to Gettysburg with one of Reynolds's staff, who returned to Reynolds with "the latest news from the front" early in the morning of July 1. Gen. James A. Hall avers that he saw Buford and Reynolds conversing at Marsh Run "quite early" in the morning of July 1, "before the batteries hitched up for marching."

4. Heth's statement is, that his division was camped at night of June 30 "near Cashtown, about six miles west of Gettysburg." A. P. Hill's official report says Heth marched "at five o'clock" in the morning of July 1. At what time did the battle begin that morning?

1863. Wadsworth's division of the First Corps began the fray by meeting Heth at Willoughby Run. Doubleday, who commanded the corps, says, that "at about half-past seven in the morning" Wadsworth "was under way" (Wadsworth had about four miles to march). Mr. E. B. Garison, one of Buford's scouts, quotes from his note-book that "the first infantry was on the ground at 9.15 A.M."

With the information Reynolds had, is it possible that he allowed Wadsworth to linger by the wayside? Robinson's division was camped from five to six miles from Gettysburg. The Twelfth Massachusetts struck tents at four A.M., but have no record of the hour of marching. The Thirteenth Massachusetts officially report that they "marched at six A.M." The Eleventh Pennsylvania say,

"Robinson's division was three miles to the rear when the first artillery report broke the stillness of the morning air." [1]

Did not the infantry battle on July 1 commence as early as nine A.M.?

5. How many troops were engaged?

On the Union side, until after one P.M., there was only Buford's cavalry (seven regiments), 2,200; and the First Corps, stated by Doubleday to number 8,200 men.

After one P.M. came the Eleventh Corps (7,400); total, 17,800. No other troops fought on the Union side on July 1.

The Confederates began the battle with Heth's division, admitted by Heth to have been "7,000 muskets." Then came in Pender, who, with more regiments, must have equalled Heth's strength. Enter Rodes, whose official report says 8,000 men; last comes Early, who says he brought 5,000 more. Total, 27,000. Fitz-Hugh Lee thinks "about 22,000."

Did the Eleventh Corps fight on July 1?

One brigade and a battery were left on Cemetery Hill, so two divisions and part of the third are all of the Eleventh Corps to be considered.

Schimmelpfenning's division (ten regiments) met Dole's Georgia brigade (four regiments). Dole's brigade be-

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 226.

1863. longed to Rodes's division, which was not actively engaged after the first day. Dole's loss for the three days was 241, or 17 per cent. Barlow's division (eight regiments) faced Gordon's brigade (six regiments) of Early's division. Early admits that Gordon lost 378, or 31½ per cent. Major Daniel, of Early's staff, declares, that "where Barlow was aligned lay a line of wounded and dead men who had fallen as they stood, and in their midst lay Barlow himself sorely stricken."

The only remaining Eleventh-Corps troops who were engaged were three regiments of Costar's brigade. They met the brigades of Hoke (three regiments) and Hays (five regiments). Early says the joint loss of Hoke and Hays was 208, — a little more than 7½ per cent.

The provost guard of the Twelfth Corps claim to have collected 1,500 fugitives from the Eleventh Corps miles in rear of the field.

7. Something delayed those Confederate divisions, and made it after three P.M. when the town of Gettysburg fell into Lee's hands. We have seen that the rebel loss in front of the Eleventh Corps was 827.

Heth admits that his division "lost 2,700 men in killed and wounded." Pender and Rodes fared as badly. Parts of three brigades and several battle-flags were captured by the Union troops in that vicinity, none of whom wore the crescent badge of the Eleventh Corps. For what services rendered did Howard receive the thanks of Congress?

If the ground was chosen at all, it was chosen by Buford and Reynolds, and the choice confirmed by Hancock, who came up at the close of the battle. The fight was made by the First Corps and Buford's cavalry: the retreat was caused by the inability of Howard's twenty-six regiments to keep eighteen Confederate regiments off of the right flank of the First Corps.

The John Burns story is familiar, but the Twelfth had a John Burns all to itself: for a boy about sixteen years of age followed the regiment from Emmettsburg, and went into the battle with Company A; wounded in two places, he was taken to hospital, and never more heard from. His very name is unknown, for he was never mustered into service.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FALL OF 1863. — MINE RUN.

1863. July 17. DURING the afternoon pontoons were laid across the Potomac.

July 18. Marched at four A.M. At six A.M. the regiment was again in Virginia. Camped at Waterford after a twelve-miles' march.

July 19. Marched at six A.M. Camped at Hamilton. Distance marched, nine miles. The Twelfth on provost duty, Col. Bates being provost-marshal.

July 20. Marched at three A.M.; forded Goose Creek, the water being from three to four feet deep. At nine P.M. camped at Middleburg, after a sixteen-miles' march. Guerillas were abundant, and succeeded in capturing some of Gen. Newton's staff.

Col. Bates left the regiment at nine A.M. for recruiting service in Massachusetts, and the command of the regiment devolved upon Capt. Charles W. Hastings of Company H.

July 22. Marched at noon, gathering blackberries by the way. At nine P.M. camped at White Plains. Distance marched, eight miles.

July 23. Started at four A.M.; marched thirteen miles with but little halting. When near Warrenton, a report of reb cavalry in the town was investigated by an infantry company, and found to be a correct rumor; but, as the main column approached, the rebel horsemen departed, abandoning a wagon-train. Nine hundred cattle and thirty-five prisoners were captured.

July 25. Marched at five A.M. Halted at Warrenton Junction, and then pushed on to Bealton. Distance marched, eighteen miles.

1863. July 26. The Eighth Massachusetts left, their term of service having expired.

July 28. Three of the Gettysburg wounded rejoined the regiment. Violent rain-storms kept the regiment busy repairing intrenchments.

Aug. 2. Marched at daybreak. After travelling seven miles, found Buford's cavalry engaged at Rappahannock Station. Buford had pressed Stuart to Culpeper Court House, nearly capturing Stuart and staff, who left their dinner untasted. But at Auburn, Buford encountered infantry, and was driven till he met the First Corps, who promptly re-enforced him. Buford's loss was one hundred and forty killed and wounded.

Aug. 3. Three men in the brigade killed by lightning.

Aug. 9. Baxter's brigade was left behind to guard the earthworks, the rest of the division crossing the Rappahannock.

Aug. 13. Another violent storm. Several men killed by lightning.

Aug. 15. Col. Bates arrived with 176 conscripts, which were distributed as follows: Company A, 17; B, 18; C, 27; D, 20; F, 20; G, 17; H, 10; I, 21; K, 22; unassigned, 4. Before this addition the regimental strength was 12 officers, 258 men, many of whom were sick in hospital.

Sept. 9. The corps drew clothing, which was sadly needed.

Sept. 12. The Second and Twelfth Corps and first cavalry division marched to our vicinity. Major Cook received his commission and assumed command.

Sept. 13. The cavalry divisions of Buford, Gregg, and Kilpatrick, with the Second Corps (under Warren), made a reconnoissance, discovering that Lee was travelling north.

Sept. 16. Marched at six A.M. *via* Stevensburg to Culpeper Court House. Col. Bates, with Burnell and Whelan, left for more recruits. (The first batch was nearly all gone, sixteen deserting in one day.)

Sept. 24. The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps left for Chattanooga. Marched at seven A.M.; crossed the Rapidan at Raccoon Ford, where the regiment remained for some time.

Sept. 26. A heavy detachment out working on intrenchments. A deserter from the Thirteenth Massachusetts, and one from the Fourth Maine, were shot.

1863. The corps moved two miles nearer the river.

Sept. 27. The brigade marched to Mitchell's Station.

Sept. 29.

Sept. 30. Marched at three P.M. After travelling two and a half miles, camped in sight of a reb signal-station.

Oct. 2. One of the Ninetieth Pennsylvania shot for sleeping on his post. It again fell to the lot of twelve men from Company E of the Twelfth to carry out the sentence of the court-martial. The surgeons, upon examining the body of the poor fellow, found that two balls had entered his heart, one his right lung, and one his shoulder.

Oct. 3. One of the regimental buglers was caught by guerillas within a quarter of a mile of camp: he contrived to escape.

Oct. 4. A battery opened on our teamsters while watering their horses. In the afternoon the Sixth Corps halted near by.

Oct. 6. Two of the Gettysburg prisoners — having managed to elude their captors — rejoined the regiment. In the afternoon thirty conscripts came.

Oct. 10. Reveille at 2.30 A.M.; marched at three A.M. Crossed Morton's Ford at seven A.M. After a journey of six miles halted for breakfast, between Culpeper Court House and Stevensburg. As the rear of the First Corps left Stevensburg the reb advance entered. The corps forded Mountain Run and the Rappahannock, and camped on the north bank of the river at three P.M.; distance marched, fifteen miles. The pontoons were destroyed after the First Corps crossed.

Oct. 12. The Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps, with Buford's cavalry, returned to near Brandy Station. Buford pushed on to Culpeper Court House.

Oct. 13. Marched at two A.M., hotly pursued by Stuart, who captured many stragglers. At three P.M. the First Corps reached Bristow Station.

Oct. 14. Marched at 2.30 A.M., forded Broad Run, passed over the Bull-Run stone bridge, and lay on arms all night. Distance marched, thirteen miles.

Oct. 15. At six A.M. changed position to the rear about one and a half miles; then ordered to the stone bridge.

Oct. 19. Marched at nine A.M. At seven P.M. camped at Hay-

1863. market. The reb pickets were so close that two men were wounded in our brigade-camp.

Oct. 23. At five P.M. marched four miles to the other side of Thoroughfare Gap.

Oct. 26. Marched at 7.30 A.M. in a rain-storm to Bristow Station, twelve miles. Halted here till railroad was rebuilt.

Nov. 4. Forty-eight conscripts arrived for regiment. Among the conscripts who arrived at this time, was one J. Wesley Pratt, who, after his arrival, refused to bear arms, and created quite a disturbance by so doing.

The following is a condensed account of his story as told by himself, headed, "Case of a Non-Resident Conscript," and published in "The Boston Liberator" of April 1, 1864: —

QUINCY, MASS., March 16, 1864.

FRIEND GARRISON.

The subjoined letter, with the personal narrative of my experience as a conscript in the hands of the American Government, is sent to you with the request that it be published, if agreeable. The language of the officers is simply the substance without the attempt to quote the exact words, although, in many instances, it is correct to the letter.

HEADQUARTERS TWELFTH MASS. INFANTRY,
CAMP NEAR KELLY'S FORD,
Dec. 14, 1863.

TO EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR.

I have the honor, in compliance with the accompanying indorsements in communication in relation to John Wesley Pratt, Company D, Twelfth Massachusetts, to report as follows: —

The day following his arrival he positively refused to do any duty. I reported his case to my brigade commander; and he issued orders to punish him, and make him do his duty. He continued to refuse; and I caused him to be tied to a wagon near my headquarters, telling him, that, when he consented to do his duty, I would release him; at the same time calling the attention of the regimental surgeon to the case, and requesting him to examine the man, and if punishment was too severe, or in any way endangering his health, I would release him.

At my request he consented to do his duty in the Pioneer Corps, and was released. Soon after the regiment moved, he abandoned his gun, equipments, and pioneer tools, and straggled.

1863: When he joined his regiment, he was arrested, and placed under guard. I received communication from said Pratt, which I forwarded at once to the regular military channels. Gen. Newton, commanding corps (First), returned the communication with indorsements, with which I have complied. The result of Pratt's behavior in the regiment caused another man in the same company to refuse to do duty. Charges have been preferred against Pratt for uttering treasonable language among the men of his company, such as, "The South ought to be let alone," or words to that effect. The statement that he was tied up in the woods among mules is false; neither was he tied so that his feet barely touched the ground. He had the same shelter that the government furnishes other conscripts.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

BENJ. F. COOK, *Major Comm'd'g Reg't.*

July 17, 1863, I was drafted in Taunton, and was notified to appear at that place for examination. Was examined by Dr. Hubbard, who made the following remarkable statement: —

"You don't look like a very well man; but the fact is (turning to his assistant), we must take some of these men, or we sha'n't get any soldiers:" and he pronounced me "sound." The provost-marshal then allowed us to return home, saying, "I won't be hard with you, but will allow you time to make up your minds what to do." Paying no further attention to the matter, I received a letter from Capt. Hall, ordering me to report immediately, as I had not been discharged from the draft. I immediately addressed a letter to Capt. Hall, provost-marshal, which was as follows: —

SIR, — Up to the breaking out of the present rebellion, I was earnestly for peace. The excitement consequent on the firing on Sumter carried me away in its almost irresistible might, until I found myself advocating the carrying on of a war more cruel and relentless than any yet recorded in history.

Two years have passed away; and no definite result has been reached, save one: the passage of a law which, in its cruel and despotic enactments, commends itself to the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey; unblushingly declaring in the last half of the nineteenth century, and in the face of all the sublime doctrines of the age (doctrines enunciated by Him who died on Calvary's cross), that Peace and Christianity are ideal names. "O Shame! where is thy blush?" I repudiate, I

1863. denounce such infidelity, such practical atheism. I will obey none of its requirements: in the midst of all this I am for Peace. I loathe, I detest, war. I shall neither evade nor obstruct the government except in the performance of my duty to Humanity; but I cannot fight.

J. Wesley Pratt,
Conscript Second District.

On Friday, Oct. 9, I was waited on by two officers, White of Weymouth, and French of Quincy. White, as I have since learned, being armed with pistols and handcuffs, prepared to take me "dead or alive," to Taunton. On learning their business, I asked for one day, in order to finish some work which was begun, but was told by White that he could not comply, as his business would not permit it; but he advised me to go to Taunton with him, and he had no doubt Hall would grant me a furlough for a few days.

Question by White. What kind of a letter did you write to Hall?

Answer. I wrote in substance, that war is opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and I will obey none of the requirements of the conscription acts. He took from his pocket the letter from Hall, and read, "You can ascertain from Wyman Abercrombie about this man Pratt. I conclude by his letter to me that he is either a fanatic, a fool, or a dangerous man."

Reply. I expect to be called a fanatic; I may be a fool; but my friends and acquaintances can decide whether I am a dangerous man.

White. Well, what do you intend to do?

Reply. I shall go to Taunton as a prisoner.

White. Will you meet me at the depot in time for the cars? To which I answered, "Yes;" and after supplying myself with a letter from Abercrombie, recommending me for a furlough, I did go, and went with White to Taunton.

On arriving in Taunton, I was taken at once to the office of the "Capt.," — that worthy giving me a somewhat reserved greeting, — and without any words handed my letter to him to White, for his perusal and criticism. He pronounced it "a very strange letter," which very sage conclusion was responded to by Hall as follows: "Now, Pratt, what induced you to write so foolish a letter? Explain yourself, sir!"

Reply. It was written from convictions of duty, — duty to myself, to freedom, and to humanity.

Hall. But you say you do not intend to evade or obstruct

1863. the government. Why, this government, I calculate, is pretty strong: do you expect *you* can evade or obstruct it?

REPLY. Every man's power to do either is just in proportion to his natural or acquired abilities.

HALL. You say you will obey none of the requirements of the conscription act. Why, then, are you here?

REPLY. I am here as a prisoner; and a prisoner, not in consequence of violating "Law," but in obedience to a power which I cannot resist.

HALL. Do you intend to pay three hundred dollars?

No, sir.

What then?

Does not my letter explain? I am conscientiously opposed to bearing arms: in other words, I am a non-resistant.

He (Hall) then went into the causes of the present strife; describing in a graphic manner how, "for fifty years, it had been the determined purpose of the South to destroy the noblest government which the world ever saw; culminating in the attack on Fort Sumter."

REPLY. Listen for a moment to the great Teacher: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

HALL. Why, sir, Jesus Christ teaches obedience. He says, "Servants, obey your masters."

REPLY. Are you not mistaken? I supposed it to be St. Paul who uttered that.

HALL. Well, it matters not, as Paul was a believer in Jesus Christ.

REPLY. Then, we are to consider the language of a devout "believer" to be as authoritative as that of Christ?

HALL. I wish you to understand, that, when you attack a law which I am sworn to protect, I shall protect it and enforce it if it is in my power.

REPLY. Now, captain, *you* are not the government. Your language and manner would seem to convey the impression to your hearers that you are, in fact, the government itself, instead of a mere servant of the government, charged with certain duties.

HALL. *Yes: and I intend to do them!* and to-morrow you will have to put on a uniform, depend upon it, if it takes six men to put it on

I then asked for a furlough; and, after making some inquiry concerning my object in going home, he replied, "Yes, I will give you a furlough; but you must first take the oath."

1863. REPLY. I shall take no oath, sir.

HALL. Then you can affirm: it is all the same.

REPLY. I know it is, and for that reason I shall do neither.

HALL. Now, Mr. Pratt, you will gain nothing by such a course; besides, your friends will think less of you than they would if you do your duty like a man.

REPLY. The warrior may gain the applause of the multitude, as he rides over human hearts. But who wins the approbation of his own soul? *The man who dares to do right.*

The morrow came; and at about ten o'clock I was taken to the clothing-room, to be arrayed in the costume of our venerable "Uncle." The officer in charge ordered me to put on the clothes: I refused. "Come, now," said he, "I'll have no humbuggin'."

"Well, then," said I, "put them on yourself: I shall offer no resistance."

He then proceeded to strip me, clothed me in "army blue," put a knapsack on my back, and marched me back to the office, where I refused to sign a receipt for clothing. We then started for Long Island.

While in the cars, my friend, Mr. Thayer, came to me, and said, "I wish to give you a word of advice"

THAYER. If you attempt to carry out the course you have begun, you will be court-martialled and shot.

REPLY. Let 'em shoot.

THAYER. Have you taken the oath?

REPLY. No.

On arriving at the island, I took up my quarters with the Thirteenth Detachment Massachusetts Conscripts.

On or about the 27th of October, I went on board the steamer "Forest City," bound for Alexandria, on our way to become a part of the Twelfth Massachusetts. Nothing occurred worth mentioning here on our way to Alexandria, except that Sergeant Snow of the Twelfth Massachusetts ordered me on guard-duty. I refused, but no notice was taken of it. We arrived on Sunday following the Tuesday on which we went on board.

On Monday, Nov. 2, we were taken to the arsenal to get our guns; and the lieutenant who was charged with the duty of distribution offered me one, which I refused to accept, saying, "I have conscientious scruples against bearing arms."

LIEUTENANT. Well, the government does not allow us to exercise our own discretion in the matter; so I shall have to strap it on your back. Lengthening out the strap, he placed the gun on my back. He then offered me a "roundabout." On

1863. my refusing to take it, he merely remarked, "I think you are very foolish," and proceeded to strap it over the gun: in that way I went to the Soldiers' Rest. The next day we were ordered to put on our roundabouts, and "fall in."

The last order I complied with, but I did not put on my roundabout. A corporal was detailed to distribute the guns; but I did not take one, and, of course, there was one left. The captain (Brady) came in soon after, and, seeing the gun, inquired whose it was. Nobody seeming to claim it, he tried to find the owner by looking up and down the line: I, being in the rear rank, he did not see me until we marched out of the hall. On seeing me he exclaimed, "Here is the man that ain't got no gun. Here, take this gun!"

REPLY. I can't do it.

BRADY. What is the reason you can't take this gun?

REPLY. Because I am conscientiously opposed to bearing arms.

BRADY. What do you suppose I care for your conscientious scruples? Here! take this gun!

REPLY. I will not.

Hereupon he ordered a "halt," and proceeded to strap the gun on my back.

The Twelfth Massachusetts was then at Bristow Station, distant some thirty-five miles from Alexandria. We arrived in the afternoon; and I was attached to Company D, Twelfth Massachusetts, Lieut. Bachelder commanding. After pitching my tent, I called on the lieutenant and explained my position, — that I was "opposed to war as contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christ, and in violation of the best interests of mankind."

LIEUTENANT. Well, you had better do your duty: for you will only make trouble for yourself; you will get in the guard-house, which is a dirty place; and, if you do not change your mode of action, you will be court-martialled and shot.

I replied, "Well, let them shoot."

LIEUTENANT. I can't argue the claims of Christianity in such a contest as this.

The next morning, at nine o'clock, I was waited on by the sergeant of the company, and ordered to "turn out" for drill. I answered, "No: I cannot drill."

SERGEANT. Why not?

REPLY. I am conscientiously opposed to bearing arms.

SERGEANT. But you *must* go on drill, or go to the guard-house.

1863. REPLY. Then, I will go to the guard-house.

He reported me to Major Benjamin F. Cook of Gloucester, Mass., commanding the regiment. I was ordered to appear forthwith at his headquarters.

MAJOR. Do you refuse to drill this morning?

REPLY. I do.

MAJOR. Why do you refuse to do your duty, and drill?

REPLY. Because my conscience will not permit it.

MAJOR (to his orderly). Take him out, and tie him among the mules.

I was taken out, and tied to the hind wheels of the regimental wagons; the major himself performing the operation, saying, at the same time, "I'll see if you will refuse to do your duty." I remained in this position from nine o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, without my dinner. I was then released. In regard to being "tied among the mules," I will state that the mules were tied to the front of the wagon, while I was tied to the rear of the same.

While I was so tied, the major came to see me, and said, "Well, Pratt, are you ready to do your duty now?" — "Not military duty, sir." — "Well, what are you here for?" — "Because I could not avoid it." — "Why didn't you pay three hundred dollars?" — "One reason is, I hadn't it to pay." — "Well, I want you to understand, that, while you are here, you have got to do military duty, or I will have you court-martialled."

The next order was to go on dress-parade at sunset. I refused; but no notice was taken of it until the usual drill-time the next morning, when, refusing again to do duty, I was again summoned before the major.

MAJOR. Do you still refuse to do duty?

ANSWER. I do.

MAJOR. "Take him to his tent, put a knapsack on him, and drill him in the facings," addressing a corporal, who had previously been detailed for that purpose.

After performing that feat for some minutes, and being advised by the corporal to "submit to a power that I could not resist," I said, "It is useless to attempt to dissuade me from my purpose, for I will die rather than fight." The major ordered me to take my gun, and drill in the manual of arms. Refusing, he said, "I'll fix you so that you'll not refuse again to drill!"

I was again taken to the wagon and tied to the same wheel, with my hands behind me, and drawn up between my shoulders so that my feet could just touch the ground. In about half an hour after I was tied up, he (Cook) sent his orderly to inquire if

1863. Nov. 4. I was ready to do my duty. I answered, "I am not." Soon the major came out, and asked me if there was no kind of duty that I was ready to do. I replied that I had never refused to go into the hospital, but that I should continue to refuse to bear arms from principle. He then offered to place me on the pioneer corps, for the time being, and to use his influence to get me a situation in the hospital. He said that the pioneers had no drilling or fighting to do; that there was an order requiring them to carry a gun, but it was not always enforced. I told him I should not carry a gun, but would try pioneer's work. On these conditions I was then released; the major coming again in the mean time in company with the colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments, and Lieut.-Col. Allen of the Twelfth Massachusetts. As I had expressed a desire to talk with the major, he asked me what I had to say.

REPLY. My religion is the religion of Christ.

ALLEN. Poh! That's played out.

Soon after I was released, orders came to pack up, and march. Feeling quite unwell, and unable to carry a load, in consequence of an attack of lumbago, I went to the surgeon, and asked him to get my things carried. He replied, "I will if I can." Soon after, I went to him again; and he said, "I will see you again. I cannot carry your things." Weak and in pain I sat on the ground and waited, hoping that some friendly wagon would assist me; but they all left camp, and I was alone: then taking up my knapsack, haversack, and canteen, but leaving the gun on the ground, I dragged myself along in the direction of the train, arriving in camp at Catlett's Station at eleven o'clock, and lay down completely exhausted till daylight.

The next day I addressed a letter to Gen. Baxter, brigade commander, of the same general import as my former ones, but received no response. On the following day, as we were about starting again, I went to the surgeon to get some relief from the incessant pain I was suffering, and also to have my load carried. He gave me some medicine, but said he could not get my knapsack carried. During the march of three days and two nights I slept in the open air. When we arrived at Brandy Station (the regiment arrived one day in advance of me) I felt more dead than alive. When we were again about to start, I applied to the surgeon to assist me by carrying my things; but he referred me to Cook, saying, "I will assist you if the major says so." I appealed to the major, who said, "I told you I would try to get you a place in the hospital if you would do your duty; and is this doing it? Where is your gun?"

1863. Nov. 4.

ANSWER. I left it on the ground at Bristow Station.

COOK. Is this the way to do your duty?

ANSWER. Did I not tell you that I would not carry a gun?

COOK. Well, I don't intend to show many favors to a man that shirks his duty as you have done.

ANSWER. I have shirked nothing.

Finding I could get no assistance, I was obliged to march with the rest. Our course was back again, across the Rappahannock, as far as Bealton: here I placed myself under the surgeon's care, expecting to find relief from my sufferings, and in a few days began to feel better.

One incident in passing. On the morning after our arrival in Bealton, I called on Lieut. Bachelder, commanding the company, and asked for a copy of the revised "Army Regulations." He said he had none, but asked me what I wished to know, as he could give me any information necessary. I told him I wished to know if officers had a legal right to punish a private severely, by torture, without a trial. "Yes," he replied, "to any extent that is necessary to enforce obedience."

REPLY. I thought there was at least a show of justice in the army; but, if your interpretation is correct, then I am mistaken "

LIEUTENANT. Who is defending your home from invasion, if it is not this same army? We are acting purely on the defensive. It is a case of life and death. What would you do if a madman should come into your house, and attempt to murder your family? Would you not fight? We came here to defend Washington. The rebels would have burnt it long ago, had it not been for this army. What kind of a government would you have, if you had your way?

REPLY. In extreme cases that you mention, I know not what I should do. I would have a government where all foreign, all intestine, differences are settled by arbitration.

My answer caused dissenting replies from several members of the company gathered around us, the lieutenant saying, "Well, when you find such a government as that, the millenium will not be far distant. I believe I understand the position of the government: that it is battling against a horde of despicable, though powerful, traitors, who are seeking to rend asunder the fairest and best-organized institutions the world ever saw; that we are not mere neighbors, living side by side, but one great family of States; and, therefore, ours is an internecine war, and it must assert and maintain the majesty of the law, or to 'night and silence sink forever more.'"

1863. I saw plainly, that, by consenting to do "duty," I was assisting directly in the war; and this, after weighing the matter thoroughly, prompted a letter to Cook, which time and space forbid publishing. After writing this letter I was thrown into the division guard-house, by command of Gen. Newton. Charges were preferred against me for "uttering treasonable language." First, "mutiny and disobedience of orders." But, finding that this could not be laid against me, it was so changed as to make it necessary to lay the matter before the government, and await the slow process of its complicated machinery.

On the 26th of November the army moved beyond the Rapidan. On starting I had not even a crumb of bread or a morsel of meat in my haversack; and yet we are told by Cook "that Pratt received the same shelter and rations that government furnished the other conscripts."

At this place (Kelly's Ford) I applied for a trial, — once to Cook, and once to judge-advocate (Lieut. Meade), — but got only evasive answers from Cook, and downright incivility from Meade. On the 11th of January I had orders to "pack up," and report to the provost-marshal, Lieut. Mason of the Twelfth, who read to me an order from Secretary Stanton, requiring him to release J. Wesley Pratt from military duty, on giving my parole of honor to return when called for. I gave my parole, and came on to Washington.

Nov. 6. At four P.M. marched seven miles to Catlett's Station.

Nov. 7. At 3.30 A.M. the First, Second, and Third Corps marched to Morrisville, fourteen miles.

Nov. 8. Forded Kelly's Ford at six A.M., and marched to Brandy Station, ten miles.

Nov. 9. Marched at five P.M. to Bealton Station.

Nov. 10. Moved one mile farther. One hundred men detailed to work on railroad. Balance on picket for three days.

Nov. 17. Ninety men for picket; twenty-two men to corduroy roads and bridges.

Nov. 20. Brigade inspection.

Nov. 23. Marched at eight A.M., Major Cook in command. After a three-mile journey, camped.

Nov. 25. One man joined the regiment, — a volunteer.

Nov. 26. Drew ten days' rations, and at six A.M. marched to Culpeper-Mine Ford. Crossed the Rapidan, and bivouacked. Distance fifteen miles.

1863. Part of the Third Corps made a wrong move, and so delayed the army, that, instead of surprising Lee by concentrating at Robertson's Tavern and Parker's store, the day was occupied in passing the Rapidan.

Nov. 27. The First Corps marched at six A.M., reaching Robertson's Tavern at eleven A.M., and finding Warren engaged with the enemy. Our division crossed the plank-road to re-enforce Warren, whereupon the rebs retreated to a strong position on the west bank of Mine Run.

Nov. 28. At daybreak moved a half-mile, and relieved Hay's division. Marched two miles more, and formed line of battle near Mine Run, where Lee was concentrated and intrenched. At a little after dark the Twelfth went on picket. The line of battle was six miles in length, and consisted of the Second and Sixth Corps, two divisions of the First Corps, and part of the Third Corps.

Nov. 29. The regiment lay on its arms all day.

Nov. 30. Meade announced his plan of battle. At eight A.M. Warren was to assail the right: one hour later Sedgwick was to attack the left, while the First and Third Corps were to assault the centre. The artillery promptly opened; the skirmishers in the centre dashed forward; Sedgwick was all ready; but Warren, after a careful examination, pronounced the scheme hopeless; and Meade acquiesced in Warren's opinion.

Dec. 1. In the morning the Twelfth shifted to the left of the turnpike, and at four P.M. started for Germania Ford, where it bivouacked, after a ten-mile march.

Dec. 2. Crossed the Rapidan at five A.M. on pontoons; marched three-quarters of a mile and stacked arms. At ten A.M. were sent to support a battery. At noon marched, and bivouacked to the right of Brandy Station after a twelve-mile journey.

The campaigning of 1863 was over. Since crossing the Potomac, on July 18, the regiment had marched nearly three hundred miles; and, though not actually engaged with the enemy to any great extent, it had borne its full share of hardship and privation. When we recollect the duties of an army commissary, the following story

1863. Dec. 2. told by the Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteers is certainly a vivid commentary on how the men in the ranks must have fared.

In speaking of the Mine-Run campaign, the historian of the Eleventh Pennsylvania says, —

"Even the brigade commissary was on short allowance, as the novel mode to which he resorted to supply himself will fully attest. Riding off some distance from the troops to a fine-looking residence, he represented himself to the family as an officer of Stuart's cavalry, disguised in Yankee uniform the better to watch the movements of the Yankee army. Without a question he was taken into their confidence. All the information they had was readily communicated, and — better still for the captain — preparations were at once made for dinner. An old colored woman who overheard the conversation, unperceived by the family, started off in all haste for the nearest body of soldiers. She was not long in finding some one to listen to her story, and a lieutenant and a squad of men were despatched to make the arrest. The squad arrived at the house as the officer was sitting down to the table. Expostulation was useless; they had no time for delay; and he yielded himself a prisoner to the guard. Taken before the corps commander, of course he was recognized as Capt. Bucklin, commissary of the second brigade; but it was Capt. Bucklin *without his dinner*." [1]

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 311.

CHAPTER X.

THE LAST WINTER.

1863.
Dec. 3. AT nine A.M. marched without rations, crossed Mountain Run, and waded Kelly's Ford — water waist deep. Camped on the north side of the river.

Dec. 4. Re-crossed, and camped on the south side.

The Ninth New York, in their regimental history, say of this, —

"The object in fording the river twice in twenty-four hours through the dead of winter was a mystery; but the supposition was, that it was the ebullition of angry feelings from the one that ordered it. However, it was uncalled for." [1]

Dec. 5. General at two P.M.; after getting all packed up, the recall sounded at six P.M. New clothing arrived. At night the rebels fired on our pickets.

Dec. 6. Thirty-three conscripts joined.

Dec. 10. Ordered to get ready for winter quarters.

Dec. 12. Formally ordered into winter quarters.

Dec. 13. The men having been working on their houses since the 5th, on this day completed and occupied them.

Dec. 14. Clear and cold.

Dec. 19. Mud knee-deep. An orderly brought to the camp news of rebel cavalry lurking in the vicinity.

Dec. 20. Cars from Washington passed through to Brandy Station for the first time in six days.

Dec. 23. Received marching orders.

Dec. 24. Reveille at four A.M.; marched at seven A.M. Major Cook left for home sick; and Capt. Hastings took command of the regiment. Marched fifteen miles, and camped near Cedar Run.

[1] P. 174.

1863. Dec. 25. 1864. After a hard day's work, got into the *second* winter quarters.

Jan. 1. Ordered to Cedar Mountain.

Jan. 2. In a driving snow-storm, marched at six A.M.

Jan. 4. Shifted camp about one mile. Rainy.

Jan. 5. Ordered to Culpeper, which place was reached at dark. Capt. D. D. Jones, quartermaster, assigned the regiment to some buildings on corner of Davis and Commerce Streets. They had formerly been used as warehouses by the Adams Express Company. From their resemblance to the historic prison at Richmond, these quarters were promptly nicknamed "The Libby." The Twelfth Massachusetts and Eighty-eighth and Ninetieth Pennsylvania were assigned to provost duty, relieving the Fourteenth Brooklyn.

Jan. 6. Capt. Hastings left for home on ten days' leave of absence; Capt. Hazel in command of the regiment.

Jan. 10. Sunday. Several reb deserters came in. Furloughs began to be granted.

Jan. 11. Six volunteers joined regiment.

Jan. 12. One of the brigade ambulances was seized by Virginia cavalry, and taken to Richmond.

Jan. 21. Gen. Newton's family arrived.

Jan. 25. At night our pickets heard some firing along the reb line.

Jan. 27. In the morning thirty-eight reb deserters came in. The firing heard on the night of the 25th was caused by the rebs endeavoring to resist the departure of ninety-eight of their comrades.

Jan. 29. Moved on the Sperryville pike, one and a half miles from town, and built the *third* winter quarters.

Jan. 30. The rest of the brigade arrived, bringing two plagues, — the enrolment officer and the small-pox. A few were persuaded to re-enlist.

Jan. 31. The month closed with a snow-storm: there were but two pleasant days in it.

Feb. 1. Rain. One hundred and three reb deserters came in at night.

Feb. 4. In the evening a delegation attended a concert in Culpeper, given by the Fourteenth Brooklyn. At eleven P.M. received marching orders.

1864. Feb. 5. Marched at 6.30 A.M. Firing heard in direction of Raccoon Ford. The rebs were plainly visible, and now and then a shot from their batteries went over our heads. The batteries with us made no reply, orders being not to bring on an engagement. The violent rain made the road a sea of mud, through which we floundered till nightfall, when the regiment bivouacked in a field near Raccoon Ford.

Feb. 7. The rebel artillery fire grew so hot that at seven A.M. the regiment shifted camp. During the day we changed camp three times. Twice the rebs tried to break our picket-line, but failed. At 5.30 P.M. we started back for Culpeper, distant nine miles. The roads were frightful. Often the artillery had to double up, and the infantry help pull the guns. During the day the regiment marched twenty miles, reaching Culpeper at nine P.M. We found our old camp untouched, but the troops in Culpeper were all packed up and waiting orders.

Feb. 9. The paymaster arrived, and the concerts of the Fourteenth Brooklyn were well patronized.

Feb. 13. One volunteer joined the regiment.

Feb. 15. Cold, with many cases of frost-bite. The first and second divisions were reviewed.

Feb. 20. Major Cook returned from sick-leave, and resumed command. A violent rain-storm raged for thirty-eight hours.

Feb. 22. Fourteen reb deserters came in.

Feb. 24. Gen. Newton reviewed the corps.

Feb. 28. The Third and Sixth Corps passed camp. At eleven P.M. received orders to be ready to move at a moment's notice.

Feb. 29. Furious rain-storm. At noon one of Company H died in hospital. His body was sent home to Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XI.

UNDER GRANT. — THE LAST CAMPAIGN.

1864. Mar. 1. ULYSSES S. GRANT was made lieutenant-general, and placed in command of all the armies of the United States. Four conscripts joined regiment.

Mar. 2. Gen. Grant visited Meade's headquarters very privately, and, on departing for Nashville, left orders for the camps to be cleared of women and non-combatants.

Mar. 8. The Third and Sixth Corps returned from their expedition. Four deserters from the Forty-eighth Mississippi came in.

Mar. 10. The ladies were all gone.

Mar. 11. Rain, hail, snow, thunder, and a furious wind. Rained steadily for the next two days.

Mar. 17. One volunteer arrived.

Mar. 18. Received orders to move. This was modified to simply hold yourselves in readiness, and then changed to "stay in present camps."

Mar. 19. Snow. Paymaster came.

Mar. 21. Tents arrived for Grant and staff. Twelfth on picket.

Mar. 24. Grant came. The First and Fifth Corps were consolidated; Newton being relieved, and Warren taking the command. Our badge now was the white disk of the First Corp, with the blue Maltese cross of the Fifth Corps resting on it.

Gen. Newton, in his farewell address, said, —

"In relinquishing command, I take occasion to express the pride and pleasure I have experienced in my connection with you, and my profound regret at our separation. Identified by its services with the history of the war, the First Corps gave at Gettysburg a crowning proof of valor and endurance in saving

1864. from the grasp of the enemy the strong position upon which the battle was fought. The terrible losses suffered by the corps in that conflict attest its supreme devotion to the country. Though the corps has lost its distinctive name by the present changes, history will not be silent upon the magnitude of its services." [1]

Mar. 25. The Fifth Corps, with Warren and staff, joined the First Corps; and in the consolidation we retained our brigade and division organization: the four divisions of the Fifth Corps being led by Griffin, Robinson, Crawford, Wadsworth.

Mar. 26. Corps reviewed by Grant, Meade, and Warren.

Mar. 28. Col. Bates returned, and took command of regiment.

April 1. Heavy rain, causing freshets which carried away the bridges near the town, thus blockading the trains and stopping the mails. On the trains thus delayed were one hundred and three conscripts on their way to the regiment.

April 8. The following letter, written April 8, 1864, to the adjutant-general of the Fifth Army Corps, by Col. Bates, tells plainly the strength of the Twelfth at that time, also the amount of work which was required of it. He says, —

"I have the honor to call your attention to the enclosed table of men detached from the regiment within and without the corps. Our morning report shows 207 enlisted men present for duty, and 144 men detached within this department or corps, and 37 men detached without the corps, making 181 under other authority than mine. I had the honor, nearly a year ago, to send Gen. Reynolds, commanding the First Corps, a similar detailed account; and he ordered all men in excess of our due proportion to be returned to duty with the regiment, and that no more men should be detailed from the Twelfth. Before any action was taken upon the subject, the Gettysburg campaign commenced. Gen. Reynolds was killed; and nothing has been done about it, and the details have continued in about the same proportion as before. This has ever kept the regiment small. It has ever been a fighting regiment. It is difficult to keep up that *esprit du corps* with so few men as I have at present; and my object in this communication is, to plead to have my men returned to me. Should every man be returned,

[1] The Story of the Regiment, p. 321.

1864. and we have no men detailed away, still our proportion would be larger than that of the details of any other regiment in the Army of the Potomac I firmly believe it to be simply just to the regiment to have these men returned, some of whom have been absent for more than two years."

April 14. One conscript came.

April 21. Eighty-nine conscripts reached camp, the balance of the one hundred and three sent being missing.

April 25. Received marching orders.

April 26. The wagoners detailed from Company H returned to the regiment.

May 3. Received marching orders; moved at midnight. The right wing was composed of the Fifth and Sixth Corps, the Fifth Corps leading, with Wilson's cavalry division ahead.

May 4. At noon crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford. Halted about an hour, and were joined by two other corps. Marched at 1.15 P.M. Went five miles on the plank-road, and bivouacked at Old Wilderness Tavern. The Twelfth was sent on picket. Total distance marched, seventeen miles. Though — as it afterwards appeared — the rebels were but two miles away, neither side was aware of the other's proximity.

May 5. At four A.M. marched in direction of Parker's store. After travelling a short distance, Crawford's division struck Hill's column, which was advancing to meet us. Grant and Meade rode up, but would not believe it any thing other than a strong rear-guard. (They speedily learned otherwise.) Crawford was instructed to hold on to the plank-road, while Griffin and Wadsworth, supported by Robinson, attacked. The enemy were found to be strongly posted. On our right the Sixth Corps gave way, but the rebs kept on the defensive. After losing three thousand men, Warren fell back and formed a new line. Wadsworth's division was sent with our brigade to assail Hill's flank and rear. After a tiresome march, at about dark, we got into position, and then advanced one mile, firing rapidly. At this juncture some of Company E, which was the right of the line, saw a column of

1864. rebs moving to our right to outflank us. Part of the Twelfth changed front to the right, and delivered a destructive fire, which broke the rebel line; but it soon rallied. It was now 8.30 P.M.; and we rested on our arms for the night, so near to the reb skirmishers, that, as Lossing says, "the combatants drew water from the same brook." Lieut.-Col. Allen, who was serving on Gen. Robinson's staff, was killed during the day.

The total casualties were, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	2	13	15
Wounded	5	37	42
			57

May 6. At daybreak the Twelfth was thrown out as skirmishers, and, advancing on the double-quick, — closely followed by the rest of the brigade, — drove the enemy about two miles, gaining possession of the plank-road. The woods were so thick that at no time were a thousand men visible from one point. Grant issued his famous order, "Attack along the whole line at five o'clock;" and, with the Twelfth as skirmishers, the corps of Hancock and Warren advanced to the assault. Our brigade encountered a battery which fired showers of grape and canister, but so dense was the forest that very few casualties occurred.

In this advance, part of the regiment marched directly across the plank-road, continuing onward; but part obliqued to the right: it was night before the regiment reunited near the De Lacey House.

The brigade also got separated, part throwing up intrenchments under command of Col. Bates, part being sent under command of Col. Coulter to support Hancock. Gen. Baxter was wounded on this day.

The regimental loss was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	1	3	4
Wounded	4	17	21
			25

The total loss to date being ninety-three.

1864. May 7. In the morning four companies under Capt. Hastings were attacked, but handsomely repulsed their assailants, losing two killed and four wounded. At nine A.M. the regiment was relieved by the Fifteenth New York Heavy Artillery; and shortly afterwards the balance of the brigade, under Col. Coulter, rejoined us. Remained here till nine P.M., when the march to Spottsylvania Court House commenced; the Fifth Corps moving on the Brock Road *via* Todd's Tavern.

May 8. At three A.M. halted. Resumed the march at five A.M. At Todd's Tavern found our cavalry blocking the way. The Twelfth was in the advance, Adjutant Wehrum riding ahead. Suddenly "a solitary horseman" rode out from the forest, and reined his horse in front of our adjutant.

"What regiment is this?"

"The Twelfth Massachusetts."

"Order them to deploy on the left of the road. What regiment comes next?"

"The Ninth New York."

"Order them to deploy on the right of the road."

"By whose order?"

The figure raised the flapping brim of his felt hat, and answered with the single word, "Sheridan!"

Col. Bates and Col. Coulter rode up. The latter received the orders direct from Sheridan, every sentence being bitten off with a "Quick! Quick!"

The deployment was made swiftly enough to win approval, even from the fiery cavalryman; and the lines swept on for about two miles, when they became entangled with Merritt's calvary. Trees felled across the paths so barricaded the way that it was eight A.M. before Robinson's division — the advance of the Fifth Corps — emerged from the forest into the clearing at Alsop's Farm, near Spottsylvania Court House. Here we encountered a fierce fire from the woods, the Twelfth deploying as skirmishers, and, after a struggle, driving the enemy's line of dismounted cavalry about three miles.

In this charge Gen. Robinson was wounded; and the division began to recoil, when Warren came up with the balance of the corps, and re-formed the lines. We had

1864. met the advance of Longstreet's corps under Anderson. The Fifth Corps steadily advanced, but found Spottsylvania Court House in possession of Longstreet. The firing was so furious that the Maryland brigade of the Fifth Corps gave way, and almost created a panic; but Warren, seizing one of their regimental colors, succeeded in rallying them. The Twelfth, by Gen. Warren's orders, fixed bayonets, deployed under a murderous fire, and stopped the flight of fugitives toward the rear. The Twelfth here lost five killed, eleven wounded. Col. Coulter took command of the division, Col. Bates was in command of the brigade, Lieut.-Col. Cook in charge of the regiment.

The Fifth Corps formed line of battle, and intrenched: five-days' rations were issued. In the midst of this, the brigade was summoned to support the Sixth Corps, which was being hotly attacked. After several wild attempts to break our lines, the enemy desisted from further effort. During the day we changed positions several times, and at three P.M. massed under direction of Col. Coulter. At night the brigade drew thirty-five thousand rounds of ammunition. Col. Coulter, in his report for this day, says, —

> "The disability of Gen. Robinson at this juncture was a severe blow to the division, and certainly influenced the fortunes of the day. The want of our commanding officer prevented that concert of action which alone could have overcome the enemy in front."[1]

May 9. Owing to scarcity of officers and men, the division was broken up; our brigade reporting to S. W. Crawford's division, where we met our old friends, the Pennsylvania Reserves. The day was spent in intrenching, and, with the exception of some skirmish firing, was quiet. Gen. Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Corps, was killed by a sharpshooter.

May 10. Early in the morning moved to Jones's plantation. At noon the brigade drove in the enemy's pickets, and got to within seventy-five feet of their works, which were on Laurel Hill, and very strong. Webb and Carroll had

[1] Story of the Regiment, p. 332.

1864. failed to carry them during the morning, and our charge was but a prelude to the assault made by the divisions of Cutler and Crawford. At three P.M. the attack was made, the works were carried, and at five P.M. turned over to the Second and Fifth Corps. The regiment had been under fire six hours, losing, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	3	2	5
Wounded	7	11	18
			23

The woods caught fire, and many of the wounded were lost.

May 11. At eight A.M. the corps began a series of assaults on the enemy's position. An officer of the brigade says, —

"Our lines moved to the assault with firm and steady tread, but life was completely thrown away. It was madness to attempt the charge. The troops behaved handsomely, however; but none were braver, or faced the deadly shot of the enemy with more heroism, than the old and tried Twelfth Massachusetts. A finer body of men never fought the Confederates."

The regimental loss was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	3	7	10
Wounded	4	10	14
			24

At noon it began to rain, and the rifle-pits speedily filled with water. Being constantly under fire, it was impossible to pitch tents.

May 12. The regiment went on the skirmish-line; Col. Bates being in command of the corps-skirmishers, with instructions not to withdraw except by express order from Meade. At eleven A.M. orders came to withdraw, and at 2.30 P.M. we began the movement; Capt. Hazel and Company K covering the rear, which was so hotly pressed by the enemy that we were compelled to "close up on the centre, and form line of battle." At dark the withdrawal was continued, and on reaching the Second-Corps lines a

1864. delay of an hour ensued — owing to Hancock having no pickets out — ere the regiment passed into the Union lines.

May 15. Marched at 3.30 A.M.; halted at army headquarters, where, at noon, the Fifth Corps arrived, and we rejoined our brigade. Still raining.

May 17. At seven A.M. moved about two miles to left and front, — under fire, of course, — and threw up breastworks. During the night the Ninth New York — which picketed in front of us — kept up such an unnecessary firing that Col. Coulter went out to silence them. He being wounded, Col. Bates once more assumed command of the brigade; Lieut.-Col. Cook taking command of the regiment.

May 18. Heavy artillery firing in our front. At five P.M. were ordered to support the heavy artillery division near the Fredericksburg pike. Went about two miles, part of the way double-quick, and found the "heavies" engaged with Ewell, who was trying to capture our supply-train parked near by. We were placed in reserve, but the "heavies" repulsed Ewell without our assistance.

May 19. At five A.M. moved a mile to the front; found Ewell had decamped. At 6.30 A.M. moved back to our previous position.

May 21. At 10.30 A.M. commenced a forced march, reaching Guinea Station at five P.M. Crossed the Matapony, and encountered a rebel cavalry division, which retreated as we advanced. The regiment was sent on picket.

May 22. At five A.M. the brigade started on a reconnoissance. Drove a rebel calvary regiment about three miles; halted at the Telegraph Road, and learned that Ewell and Longstreet had, during the night, marched southward. Col. Bates forwarded this information, with a batch of prisoners, to Gen. Crawford, and received orders to call in all advanced detachments, and withdraw his pickets. By 11.30 A.M. this was all accomplished; and the brigade started to rejoin its corps, having obtained important information, which determined the future movements of the whole army. For this the brigade was complimented in General Orders. After a fourteen-mile tramp found the corps in bivouac at Harris's store.

1864. May 23. Marched at six A.M. After six miles our advance met cavalry and light artillery. These were soon routed, and our column pushed on to the North Anna. At three P.M. crossed at Jericho Ford, and formed line of battle, — Cutler on the right, Griffin in the centre, Crawford on the left. The Twelfth was detailed as skirmishers for the brigade, was posted, and ordered to lie down. For three-quarters of an hour shot and shell flew lively; but only one casualty occurred, — Private Chase of Co. I.

At six P.M. two of Hill's divisions attacked Griffin, but, being repulsed, turned their fury on Cutler. Our brigade was ordered to report to Cutler, who split it up, taking part to fill gaps in his line, and placing the Twelfth in reserve. A report that we were being outflanked resulted in orders for the Twelfth to recross the river and investigate. Finding it a false rumor, the regiment again crossed the river. The night was spent in intrenching, but during the darkness Hill withdrew.

May 24. On picket. Advanced, and captured many prisoners. At 10.30 A.M. moved down the right bank of the river to where the Ninth Corps was trying to cross. Formed line of battle with both flanks resting on the North Anna. Intrenchments were thrown up, and the Twelfth — deployed as skirmishers — became engaged immediately. The enemy were in strong force; but, being sheltered by thick woods, our loss was slight. Remained on picket all night. Capt. Hastings of Company H, going beyond the line to reconnoitre, was captured.

May 25. At four A.M. moved a half a mile forward. Fought alone and unaided for nearly two hours, when Cutler came to our support. We re-formed in rear of the brigade, which had erected breastworks. The losses this day were, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	2	1	3
Wounded	1	13	14
			17

May 26. Marched at nine P.M.; but, the roads being blocked, we made slow progress. Crossed the river soon after midnight.

1864. May 27. Marched at five A.M. Continued travelling in a south-easterly direction till the morning of May 28, when the whole army was across the river, and in communication with its new base of supplies at White House.

May 28. At six P.M. built works on south bank of the Pamunkey. Warren moved out from Bethesda Church, and met Rodes's division, with cavalry. Col. Harding's brigade of our division was the first to encounter Rodes: the reserves were brought up, and the Confederate reconnoissance was repulsed.

May 29. Was devoted to marching and countermarching.

May 30. Our brigade reported at nine A.M. to Gen. Lockwood for reconnoitring duty, and soon was briskly engaged. Col. Kitching's Maryland brigade broke and ran, and we had to fill the gap. After an hour's severe struggle — during which Col. Bates had a horse shot — the enemy was repulsed. Our loss was, —

	OFFICERS.	ENLISTED MEN.	TOTALS.
Killed	0	2	2
Wounded	2	4	6
			8

We remained in the intrenchments till June 1.

June 1. At six A.M. advanced about a mile, and found the enemy strongly intrenched in a thin belt of woods on the farther side of a broad, open field. We built breastworks, and staid in them till five P.M., when we marched by a circuitous route to the Cold-Harbor Road, and spent the balance of the night in constructing works.

June 2. Very rainy. At daylight the lines advanced, the Twelfth doing skirmish duty for the brigade. We drove the reb skirmishers, and occupied their position. Repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made to evict us. Four men joined the regiment as volunteers.

June 3. Orders were issued for a general assault at 4.30 A.M. At four A.M. the skirmishers, with the Twelfth holding the right of the line, advanced. In the face of a tremendous fire our skirmishers drove the enemy from their rifle-pits. The contest lasted without intermission all day, but the Fifth-Corps line was so extended that it could only hold on to its positions.

1864. June 4. Early in the morning repulsed an attack made by the enemy's skirmishers in front of our brigade. We captured a lieutenant and two men. Our loss was three, slightly wounded.

June 5. At eleven A.M. the brigade moved four miles to the left, to Bethesda Church, and labored for the rest of the day in the trenches. So keen were the sharpshooters on both sides, that it was very injudicious to keep otherwise than well covered.

June 6. An armistice of a few hours was arranged to enable the dead — many of whom had been lying between the lines for four days — to be buried.

June 6–10. Was spent in intrenching.

June 11. At five A.M. moved toward White-Oak Swamp. Marched all day and night.

June 12. Still marching. At afternoon the brigade camped on a fine farm.

June 13. The corps marched to within two miles of White-Oak Swamp Bridge, and halted. Our brigade was ordered to relieve Wilson's cavalry, said to be at the bridge. Found the enemy instead, strongly posted, with a square redoubt, mounting two guns, covering the bridge. Formed line of battle under a severe shell-fire. The enemy advanced to within three hundred yards of the bridge, and intrenched. The Twelfth — on skirmish-line — kept them busy. Several times the rebs endeavored to put a battery into position, but they failed to succeed. The Twelfth lost four wounded. At dark we were withdrawn, and followed our corps toward the James River. Marched all night, halting at St. Mary's Church. Since June 11 we had marched fifty-five miles.

June 14. At five A.M. marched toward Charles-City Court House. Camped three miles from the Court House. In the evening a pontoon bridge — over two thousand feet long — was laid across the James River, and the corps began to cross.

June 15. Still in camp, near the Court House.

June 16. Marched to the river. Crossed on steamers "Joseph Powell" and "James Brooks." Reached Petersburg at dark, and found the Ninth Corps hotly engaged. Our

1864. division was sent to support Burnside. Advanced through tangled thickets and marshy ground, under a heavy fire, and captured some prisoners. A general assault was then made, and bloodily repulsed.

June 17. The balance of the corps arrived. Our brigade, with Griffin on our left, and Burnside on our right, led another assault; the Twelfth being on the skirmish-line. Orders were to drive the foe from their intrenchments on the railroad. Col. Bates, in his report, says, —

> "This was performed under Lieut.-Col. Cook in gallant style, advancing so far that the remainder of the brigade thought they had been taken prisoners."

The assault was made by our brigade and Griffin's division: the Ninth Corps never stirred.

Abbott's "History of the Civil War" says, —

> "The gallant assailants drove the rebels from their position, and captured a stand of colors, six guns, and four hundred men."

At night, after a hard day's desultory fighting, the troops intrenched in a line three hundred yards from the enemy. The Twelfth Massachusetts and Eighty-eighth Pennsylvania were on skirmish-line, and kept matters so hot, that in one instance a reb gunner, within easy range, after loading his piece was unable to withdraw his rammer, and so fired it into our lines. The losses in our brigade during the day were heavy.

June 19–22. Remained in the trenches under a continuous fire. The dead and wounded were cared for under a flag of truce.

June 23. Our lines were extended to the left, and the men were kept busy digging a covered way to the road.

Relieved by Col. Wilcox of the Ninth Corps, and moved two and a half miles to the left under a heavy shell-fire. Here ended the regiment's active service. It had been almost constantly on duty in this campaign as skirmishers, having been specially selected for this duty on account of its steadiness and reliability. During the advance to Petersburg the regiment captured more than its own strength in prisoners.

According to the memorandum kept by Col. Bates, from

1864. June 24. May 5 to June 25, — a period of fifty days, — the regiment had been under fire forty-one distinct times. The same authority declared, that "it never fired into its friends, and always manifested a Prussian stoicism."

The following table shows the losses in the regiment during the same space of time: —

Killed.		Wounded.		Missing.		Total.		Agg'gate.
Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	
5	41	3	120	-	3	8	164	172

One officer and twelve men were taken prisoners.

Grant's campaign has been a subject of much controversy and severe criticism. Perhaps the worst blow aimed at it is found in Badeau's defence of the movement.

It is reasonably certain, after considering the operations, that Grant never intended to fight in the Wilderness; that he — in common with so many Western generals — thought that there was not much fight in Lee's army; and that, had he only been able to divest himself of this notion, much bloodshed might have been averted. His movements acknowledge the Wilderness campaign a failure; for, after all the slaughter from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy, he brought up just where McClellan had been two years earlier, and where he could have got without losing a man. The moment he crossed the James River he only vindicated his assertion made before his promotion to the chief command, that "the true way to Richmond was by approaching from the south." And the moment he adopted that plan, the Confederacy began to gasp for breath.

All praise is to be awarded to Grant for his steadfastness, pertinacity, and bull-dog determination to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer;" but the fact will ever remain unshaken, that the overland route from the Rapidan to the James cost far more than it was worth, and that the loss inflicted upon the enemy was much smaller than our own. The way in which the army was

1864. July 24. handled, however, showed that a skilful hand was at the helm; and the continual flanking movements, fighting at every opportunity, tended greatly, no doubt, to weaken and discourage the rebels, and make final success in the spring of '65 possible.

CHAPTER XII.

HOMEWARD BOUND. — MUSTER OUT.

1864. June 25. THE re-enlisted men and conscripts were turned over to the Thirty-ninth Massachusetts; and at three P.M., the regiment — numbering eighty-five men — marched for City Point.

"The Boston Journal's" correspondent wrote, —

"This regiment, noted for its modesty as well as gallantry and heroic conduct, retired so quietly from the lines that its absence was not generally known till it was far on its way for home. Had its departure been known in time, it would have received such demonstrations of respect as have been accorded to none other."

June 27. Remained at City Point until June 27, when embarked on steamer "Vanderbilt," reaching Washington at ten A.M. June 28. In the afternoon took cars for Boston. When near Hâvre-de-Grace, a member of the regiment was severely bruised by collision with a bridge.

In passing through New York, the regiment received a very cordial welcome from their old comrades the Ninth N.Y.S.M.; and an exhibition drill by Company H of the Twelfth was greeted with hearty applause.

All along the route the regiment kept swelling its numbers by receiving men who had been absent on detached service, or in hospital; so that, on the morning of July 1, it reached Boston with one hundred and seventy men.

July 1. Breakfasted at Beach-street barracks; and at eleven A.M., escorted by the Westborough Independent Company of Militia, Capt. C. B. Winslow, with Gilmore's full band, the Twelfth Massachusetts commenced its last march, — to Faneuil Hall. "Repeatedly were the veterans greeted with the heartiest cheers of welcome."

1864. July 1. The following is the list of officers who returned with the regiment: —

Colonel. — James L. Bates.
Lieutenant-Colonel. — Benjamin F. Cook.
Adjutant. — Capt. Charles C. Wehrum.
Quartermaster. — George E. Muzzey.
Surgeon. — W. H. W. Hinds.
Assistant Surgeon. — Charles A. Wheeler.

Company C. — Capt. F. B. Pratt.
Company D. — First Lieutenant C. Batchelder.
Company E. — First Lieutenant R. M. Mason.
Company G. — Capt. J. B. Whitman.
Company H. — First Lieutenant Edward Lewis.
Company I. — First Lieutenant Frank A. Lancaster.
Company K. — Capt. Edwin Hazel.

Other officers of the regiment were absent wounded, on detached service, or in rebel prisons.

Companies A, B, F, brought home no officers.

Company A brought home three men only in its ranks.

Capt. Moses N. Arnold remained in the service on Gen. Crawford's staff.

"The Boston Herald" gave the following account of what happened at Faneuil Hall: —

"The regiment reached Faneuil Hall about noon, and partook of a good collation prepared by the City Committee.

"The hall was nicely decorated, and the galleries were filled with friends of the regiment.

"Mayor Lincoln, after the edge had been taken from the appetites of the soldiers, addressed the men of the Twelfth. He welcomed the regiment home after its three-years' honorable service. Referring to the organization of the regiment, he said it was no holiday display that induced the men to offer their services to defend the common flag, and every man composing the regiment expected he would have to fight to crush the rebellion.

"Mayor Lincoln passed a feeling tribute to the memory of Col. Webster, and closed by introducing Adjutant-Gen. Schouler, who welcomed the regiment in behalf of the governor of the Commonwealth, who was prevented from being present by important official business. He thanked the commander, officers, and men of the regiment for their three-years' service, and

1864. highly complimented them for their bravery. He spoke of his acquaintance with the late commander of the regiment, and related some reminiscences of him. He also spoke of the others who had fallen in battle and by disease, and said that their services would be ever honored. In closing he complimented Col. Bates for his bravery, and again extended a hearty welcome to the whole command.

"Col. Bates was then called on, and took the stand amid loud cheers; Gilmore's band playing 'The Bowld Soldier Boy.'

"Col. Bates heartily thanked the mayor and adjutant-general for the elegant reception, and said, that, the day previous to the expiration of the regiment's term of service, it was under the heaviest fire of the campaign, yet not a man shirked; though — if ever shirking could be justified — it would be at such a time.

"Dr. Shurtleff made a few remarks in answer to a call; the regiment was furloughed till ten A.M. on Monday, July 8; and the men then left the hall for their homes."

July 8. On July 8 the regiment re-assembled on Boston Common: the roll was called for the last time by First Lieut. P. B. C. Moroney, Fourteenth United-States Infantry; and as he pronounced the words, "The Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers are hereby mustered out of service," the Webster Regiment passed into history.

July 12. On Tuesday, the 12th of July, the citizens of Weymouth gave the members of Company H an enthusiastic reception. All who had served in the regiment were invited by the selectmen of the town. Company H and those residing in the vicinity met the remainder of the regiment at the station in Weymouth Landing at noon; and a procession was formed under the chief-marshalship of Nathaniel Blanchard, Esq. The march was taken up to the town-house, where addresses were made by distinguished citizens of the town, Col. Bates, and others. Instrumental music was furnished by Stetson's Weymouth band, and vocal music by a select club. At the close of the exercises a bountiful collation, provided by the ladies of Weymouth, was partaken of. The men greatly enjoyed the occasion, and will ever remember the kindness of the friends of Company H.

Dec. 11. On Dec. 11, 1864, the colors which the Twelfth brought home were formally presented to the State; many of the regiment being present on the occasion.

1864. *Strength of the Twelfth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry from June 26, 1861, to July 8, 1864.*

	Original No.		Vols.	Con-scripts.	Agg'te.
	Off.	Men.			
Mustered in June 26, 1861	38	1,002	–	–	1,040
Received to June 30, 1863	–	–	87	–	87
to Aug. 15, 1863	–	–	–	176	176
to Oct. 6, 1863	–	–	–	30	30
to Nov. 4, 1863	–	–	–	48	48
to Nov. 25, 1863	–	–	1	–	1
to Dec. 6, 1863	–	–	–	33	33
to Jan. 11, 1864	–	–	6	–	6
to Feb. 13, 1864	–	–	1	–	1
to March 1, 1864	–	–	–	4	4
to March 17, 1864	–	–	1	–	1
to April 14, 1864	–	–	–	1	1
to April 21, 1864	–	–	–	103	103
to June 2, 1864	–	–	4	–	4
	38	1,002	100	395	1,535

There were reported as "deserted,"—

Volunteers 93

Conscripts 112

— 205

Of these, many were taken prisoners on the march; but, having no official notice thereof, they were reported as "deserted." Doubtless many of them fill unknown graves in the South.

Losses of the Twelfth Massachusetts in Action.

Place.	Total Loss.	Killed.		Wounded.		Missing.	
		Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.
Cedar Mountain	11	1	–	3	5	–	2
Thoroughfare Gap	2	–	–	–	1	–	1
Bull Run, Second	138	2	13	1	59	1	62
South Mountain	2	–	1	1	–	–	–
Antietam	283	3	67	9	174	–	30
Fredericksburg	109	2	15	9	83	–	–
Chancellorsville	6	–	–	–	2	–	4
Gettysburg	119	2	7	8	39	3	60
Grant's campaign	180	6	41	3	110	1	19
Aggregates	850	16	144	34*	473	5	178

* Two of these died of wounds received, making 18 officers killed and died of wounds.

1864.

Losses by Death in each Company.

	Killed, Wounded, Missing.	Died of Disease.
Company A, lost	94	6
B, "	87	3
C, "	80	7
D, "	85	3
E, "	86	2
F, "	77	6
G, "	85	3
H, "	48	5
I, "	85	3
K, "	83	5
	810	43

List of Officers Killed, or Died of Wounds.

Col. Fletcher Webster	Killed Aug. 30, 1862.
Lieut.-Col. David Allen	Killed May 5, 1864.
Major Elisha Burbank	Wounded Sept. 17, died Nov. 30, 1862.
Asst. Surgeon Albert A. Kendall	Killed Sept. 17, 1862.
Capt. Richard H. Kimball	Killed Aug. 30, 1862.
Capt. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff	Killed Aug. 9, 1862.
Capt. John Ripley	Wounded Dec. 13, died Dec. 25, 1862.
Capt. John S. Stoddard	Killed May 10, 1864.
First Lieut. William G. White	Wounded and died Sept. 17, 1862.
First Lieut. Arthur Dehon	Killed Dec. 13, 1862.
First Lieut. Lysander F. Cushing	Killed Sept. 17, 1862.
First Lieut. Francis Thomas	Killed July 1, 1863.
First Lieut. Charles G. Russell	Killed July 1, 1863.
First Lieut. William Robinson	Wounded and died May 14, 1864.
First Lieut. David B. Burrill	Killed May 24, 1864.
First Lieut. James G. Smith	Wounded and died June 4, 1864.
Second Lieut. George W. Orne	Wounded Sept. 17, died Oct. 8, 1862.
Second Lieut. Edward J. Kidder	Killed May 10, 1864.

Of many testimonials which exist touching the estimation in which the Webster Regiment was held, the following unsolicited and unexpected tribute is copied from "The Boston Journal."

WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA,
Sept. 1, 1881.

To the Editor of "The Boston Journal."

In reading your paper this moment laid down, my eye was attracted by an article headed "Twelfth Regiment, Webster." I think it will give pleasure to those that survive of that regiment to know what their commander, Gen. Meade, thought of them. We met in Independence Square, and I questioned the general as to the fighting qualities of our soldiers. He spoke in a general way of all, not detracting from any; but he said, the Massachusetts Twelfth he thought the finest regiment in

1864. the service. These were his words; and, if there is an officer or soldier of that regiment now living, he should transmit to his descendants these noble words. A. L. ELWYN.

Dr. Elwyn is a retired physician, living at 1422 Walnut Street; and his reputation for veracity is unquestioned by Philadelphians.

Members of the Regiment buried at Andersonville, Ga.

Company.	NAME.	Rank.	Died.	Grave.
I . .	Isaac Burnham * .	Sergeant .	Aug. 13, 1864,	5,540
H . .	C. E. Cushing . .	Corporal .	June 12, 1864,	1,809
D . .	William Emerson .	–	April 7, 1864,	418
G . .	A. Frisby . . .	–	Sept. 8, 1864,	8,186
I . .	Henry Harrison † .	–	April 14, 1864,	556
H . .	F. Harrington . .	–	July 24, 1864,	3,901
I . .	Leonard B. Holmes *.	First sergeant,	Aug. 5, 1864,	4,816
I . .	S. Lain ‡ . . .	–	Aug. 24, 1864,	6,735
A . .	W. H. Seavey . .	–	Sept. 3, 1864,	7,707
A . .	W. McGown . .	–	Aug. 11, 1864,	5,280
K . .	M. Murphy . . .	–	June 6, 1864,	1,680
I . .	W. H. Smith . .	–	March 25, 1864,	154
F . .	Warren Smith . .	–	March 5, 1864,	9
H . .	L. Torrey . . .	–	April 7, 1864,	407

Buried in Antietam Cemetery, Md.

Co.	NAME.	Rank.	Date of Death.	Grave.	Lot.	Section.
G .	James Fitz . . .	–	Nov. 6, 1862,	101	B,	17
C .	Moses Haseltine . .	–	Oct. 17, 1862,	135	C,	17
F .	Hiram Hurd . .	–	– –	51	A,	17
D .	James Means . .	–	– –	182	C,	17
E .	James D. Murphy .	–	Oct. 26, 1862,	138	C,	17
G .	E. G. Poole . . .	–	Oct. 14, 1862,	102	B,	17
B .	Granville H. Smith .	–	Oct. 19, 1862,	103	B,	17

Buried at Gettysburg Cemetery, Penn.

Co.	NAME.	Rank.	Died.	Grave.	Section.
I .	William Carr . . .	Sergeant .	– –	13	C
H .	George F. Lewis . .	–	– –	14	C
K .	Hardy P. Murray . .	–	– –	15	C

* McFarlan of Company E says Holmes died June 28, 1864, and that Burnham died June 21, 1864.

† Probably meant for Hens C. Hansen. ‡ Probably meant for Sanford P. Lane.

1864.

Buried at Arlington Cemetery, Va.

Name.	Co.	Died.	No.	Row.	Sect.	Blk.	Remarks.
Daniel Donovan .	B,	July 2, 1862,	32	16	E,	2	Rem'd fr'm Warr's Farm burial-place, near Manassas Station.
Charles Young .	A,	Sept. 8, 1863,	58	4	E,	2	Rem'd f'm Bowen's Land, near Rappahannock Station.

Buried at Chester, Penn.

William H. Sanborn, Co. A, died June 10, 1864.

Buried at Frederick, Md.

John B. Jenks, Co. C, died Oct. 7, 1862 (Area M, western side), said to be removed.

Alfred J. Snow, Co. G, died Oct. 19, 1862 (Area O, southern corner).

Buried along Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

Henri Birkenholz, Co. A, died Jan. 13, 1864.

F. Brown, Co. G, died Jan. 18, 1864. (See Culpeper Court House, Va.)

William F. Kohle, Co. C, died March 7, 1864, at Culpeper Court House, Va., Block 1, Section A, Row 2, Grave 63.

S. Stone, Co. F, died Jan. 11, 1864.

Rufus S. Wadleigh, Co. K, died Jan. 2, 1864. The headboard reads —— J. Wadleigh, Co. K, died Jan. 13, ——.

Buried at Annapolis, Md.

P. Butler, Co. A, died Dec. 8, 1863.

P. W. Haugh, Co. B, died Sept. 3, 1863.

J. H. Stewart, Co. I, died Nov. 9, 1863.

Found on the Battle-fields of Wilderness and Spottsylvania, and buried there.

Second Lieut. Edward Kidder, Co. E (should be Edward J. Kidder, Co. I).

L. S. Miller, Co. E.

Capt. J. S. Sladdard, Co. F (should be John S. Stoddard).

Buried at Culpeper Court House, Va. (having been removed from Culpeper Cemetery).

J. C. Brown, Co. G, died July 18, 1864. No. 155, Row 5, Section A, Block 1.

1864. W. F. Kohle, Co. C, died March 7, 1864. No. 63, Row 2, Section A, Block 1.

J. Welsh, Co. K, died Jan. 3, 1864. No. 146, Row 5, Section A, Block 1.

Buried at Lynchburg, Va.

Charles Reed, Co. F, died Aug. 9, 1862.

Buried at Seven Pines, Va.

Z. Blackman, Co. I, died 1862. Lot 129, Section B (probably John H. Blackman, Co. H).

Buried at Alexandria, Va.

Co.	NAME.	Rank.	Died.	No. of Grave.
H	John Atkins	–	Dec. 8, 1863,	1,127
H	George Bacon	–	June 6, 1864,	2,039
E	William D. Cata	–	April 21, 1864,	1,774
F	Andrew J. Frost	–	March 19, 1864,	1,542
A	James Gettings	–	Jan. 2, 1863,	656
I	John Goulding	Corporal	March 22, 1864,	1,583
K	Charles Messenger	–	Sept. 20, 1864,	2,693
E	Charles H. Puffer	–	Feb. 7, 1863,	717
G	John G. Taylor	–	Dec. 30, 1862,	644
C	J. F. Thorndike	–	Nov. 16, 1863,	1,058
F	John F. Vickery	–	Aug. 12, 1864,	2,553

Buried in Military Asylum Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

M. Dahlberg, Co. F, died Dec. 17, 1863.
W. K. Porter, Co. G, died Oct. 24, 1863.
J. D. Palmer, Co. A, died Jan. 17, 1864.
George Walker, Co. F, died Sept. 24, 1862.

Buried at Arlington, Va.

W. H. Bartoll, Co. K, died July 1, 1864.
C. E. Dunn, Co. C, died May 31, 1864.
J. Evans, Co. A, died June 7, 1864.
C. Johannis, Co. C, died June 10, 1864.
J. D. Lane, Co. G, died May 18, 1864.
J. Merrow, Co. D, died May 25, 1864
F. B. Potter, Co. D, died June 5, 1864.
J. G. Smith, Co. G, died June 17, 1864.
C. Pickfire, died Dec. 19, 1864. Harmony Cemetery.

Buried at Poplar-Grove Cemetery.

Charles Reese, Co. F. Division E, Section E, Grave 163.

1864.

Buried at Salisbury, N. C.

Luther Hun, Co. ——, died Jan. 14, 1865.

Buried at Augusta, Ga.

D. Smith, Co. G, died April 1, 1864.

Buried in National Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

E. T. Allen, Co. K, died Dec. 5, 1863. Pneumonia.
J. E. Arnold, Co. E, died April 15, 1864.
John Barnes, Co. F, died Oct. 29, 1863. Pneumonia.
G. W. Bryant, Co. I, died Dec. 25, 1862. Wounded Dec. 13, 1862.
J. C. Burnes, Co. H, died Feb. 25, 1864.
William F. Dean, Co. I, died Dec. 27, 1863. Scorbutus.
R. Gold (should be Reuben Gould), Co. I, died Feb. 2, 1864.
T. M. Gorfrey, Co. F, died Jan. 23, 1864.
A. H. Kenball (should be Asa H. Kimball), Co. I, died March 25, 1864.
R. Leroy, Co. B, died Feb. 26, 1864.
P. J. Mahoney, Co. D. Shot by guard.
T. Miller, Co. I, died Feb. 22, 1864. Grave 195, Section C, Division 1.
H. Moss, Co. F, died March 13, 1864.
C. Prill, Co. E, died March 23, 1864.
S. B. Young, Co. A, died Feb. 27, 1864.

Buried in National Cemetery, Fredericksburg, Va.

Co.	Name.	Died.	Div.	Sect.	Grave	Removed from —
F.	B. F. Bennett	May 7, 1864,	C.	A.	258	Wilderness.
D.	John D. Harvey,	17, 1864,	A.	A.	83	Woollen-fact'y lot, Fredericksburg.
G.	R. M. Hanes	7, 1864,	C.	A.	260	Wilderness.
H.	John Mundall	5, 1863,	B.	D.	99	Aldridge Farm, Spottsylvania Co.
G.	J. A. Tolman	13, 1864,	A.	C.	324	Laurel Hill.

ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS.

FLETCHER WEBSTER.

Organized Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers April 21–23, 1861; chosen colonel May 4, 1861; mustered into the United-States service June 26, 1861; mortally wounded, at the second battle of Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862, and died upon the field.

JAMES L. BATES.

Enlisted April 25, 1861, in Company H; elected captain April 29; mustered into United-States service June 26, 1861; provost-marshal July 7, 1862; promoted major Thirty-third Massachusetts Aug. 5, 1862; colonel Twelfth Massachusetts Sept. 9, 1862; joined regiment Sept. 21, 1862; wounded in neck July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg; detailed on recruiting service in Massachusetts July 24, 1863; returned March 28, 1864. Commanded second brigade from May 8, 1864, to June 25, 1864; mustered out with the regiment July 8, 1864.

TIMOTHY M. BRYAN, Jun.

Enlisted April, 1861; elected lieutenant-colonel May 11, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; resigned Oct. 7, 1862; commissioned colonel of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry.

DAVID ALLEN, Jun.

Enlisted in Company K, April 19, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861, as captain; wounded at Antietam and Fredericksburg; promoted to lieutenant-colonel Oct. 8, 1862; appointed on the staff of Gen. J. C. Robinson, second division, First Corps, as division inspector, July 13, 1863; killed May 5, 1864, while on staff duty.

BENJAMIN F. COOK.

Enlisted as private, Company K, April 19, 1861; elected second lieutenant; mustered as first lieutenant June 26, 1861; captain Company E, May 2, 1862; provost-marshal second division, First Corps, Jan. to Sept., 1863; major Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers July 23, 1863; lieutenant-colonel May 6, 1864; in command of regimental skirmish-line Sept. 17, 1862. Commanding regiment Sept. 17 to 22, 1862; Sept. 11 to Dec. 19, 1863; Feb. 20 to March 27, 1864; May 8 to June 25, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

ELISHA M. BURBANK.

Enlisted April, 1861; elected major May 9, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; died Nov. 29, 1862, of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.

DANIEL G. HANDY.

Enlisted June 21, 1861; mustered as captain Company C, June 26, 1861; promoted major Nov. 30, 1862; resigned July 22, 1863.

EDWARD P. REED.

Enlisted April 30, 1861, in Company G; mustered as first lieutenant June 26, 1861; promoted captain June 25, 1862; major May 6, 1864; wounded at Antietam and Fredericksburg; on detached service on account of wounds from July 26, 1863; mustered out with regiment.

JEDEDIAH H. BAXTER.

Mustered as surgeon Twelfth Massachusetts June 26, 1861, discharged April 17, 1862; surgeon United-States Volunteers April 4, 1862; brigade surgeon April 17, 1862; brevet lieutenant-colonel March 30, 1865, "for meritorious and faithful service in the recruitment of the armies of the United States;" brevet colonel March 13, 1865, "for faithful and meritorious service during the war;" lieutenant-colonel and assistant medical purveyor U.S.A., July 20, 1867; brevet colonel U.S A. July 20, 1867, "for faithful and meritorious service during the war;" lieutenant-colonel U.S.A., chief medical purveyor, March 12, 1872; colonel and chief medical purveyor U.S.A. June 23, 1874.

JOHN McLEAN HAYWARD.

Mustered as assistant surgeon Twelfth Massachusetts Volunteers June 26, 1861; surgeon April 29, 1862; captured and paroled, Warrenton, Va., November, 1862; discharged April 22, 1863; major United-States Volunteers, "for faithful and meritorious services during the war, to date from March 13, 1865." (General Order 148, Washington, Oct. 14, 1865.)

WILLIAM H. W. HINDS.

Mustered as assistant surgeon Seventeenth Massachusetts Aug. 21, 1861; promoted to surgeon Twelfth Massachusetts May 26, 1863; mustered out July 8, 1864, with regiment.

ALBERT A. KENDALL.

Mustered as assistant surgeon April 29, 1862; killed at Antietam Sept. 17, 1862, while caring for the wounded on the battle-field.

JOHN H. McGREGOR.

Mustered as assistant surgeon Aug. 13, 1862; resigned Sept. 2, 1863.

CHARLES A. WHEELER.

Enlisted Nov. 7, 1861, in Company B, Fifteenth Massachusetts; served in the ranks until May 25, 1862; then detailed to hospital department of regiment; served there until after battle of Antietam, when he was detailed as acting hospital steward of field hospital at Smoketown, Md.; Nov. 29, 1862, ordered to report to surgeon-general of Massachusetts for examination before medical board; commissioned assistant surgeon Twelfth Massachusetts Dec. 17, 1862; detailed for duty in Third Regular battery, Eighty-third New-York Volunteers, and Third Maryland; wounded May 6, 1864, in battle of Wilderness; mustered out July 8, 1864.

IRA M. PERRY.

Commissioned assistant surgeon Dec. 1, 1862; declined.

EDWARD L. CLARK.

Mustered as chaplain June 26, 1861; resigned June 16, 1862.

ISRAEL WASHBURN.

Mustered as chaplain Sept. 1, 1862; fought in the ranks at Antietam; resigned May 26, 1863.

RICHARD H. KIMBALL.

Enlisted April 20, 1861; mustered as captain Company A, June 26, 1861; wounded at Cedar Mountain, Aug. 9, 1862; killed at second Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862.

GEORGE W. MURCH.

Enlisted April, 1861; mustered as captain Company B, June 26, 1861; resigned July 27, 1862.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, Jun.

Enlisted April 22, 1861; mustered as captain Company D, June 26, 1861; killed at Cedar Mountain, Aug. 9, 1862.

EDWARD C. SALTMARSH.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; mustered as captain Company E, June 26, 1861; resigned May 1, 1862, to receive commission in United-States marine service.

ALEXANDER HICHBORN.

Enlisted April, 1861; mustered as captain Company F, June 26, 1861; resigned May 13, 1862.

IRA BLANCHARD.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; mustered as captain Company G, June 26, 1861; resigned June 24, 1862.

JOHN RIPLEY.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; mustered as captain Company I, June 26, 1861; slightly wounded at Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862; severely wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; mortally wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862; died Dec. 25, 1862.

ALPHEUS K. HARMON.

Enlisted April 27, 1861, in Company F; mustered as first lieutenant June 26, 1861; captain May 10, 1862; wounded at Cedar Mountain Aug. 9, 1862; wounded at second Bull Run Aug. 30, 1862; under medical treatment until June 3, 1863; then ordered on duty at Boston provost-marshal's department; assigned to Company E; mustered out July 8, 1864.

CHARLES T. PACKARD.

Enlisted in April, 1861; elected second lieutenant Company B; mustered June 26, 1861; promoted to captain Aug. 20, 1862; wounded at Antietam and Fredericksburg; mustered out July 8, 1864.

J. OTIS WILLIAMS.

Enlisted in April, 1861, in Company D; mustered June 26, 1861, as first lieutenant; promoted to captain Oct. 8, 1862; wounded at Antietam Sept. 17, 1862, and at Gettysburg July 1, 1863; discharged on account of wounds June 11, 1864.

CHARLES W. HASTINGS.

Enlisted April 25, 1861, in Company H; mustered as first lieutenant June 26, 1861; promoted captain Aug. 10, 1862; commanded regiment from July 20 to Sept. 11, 1863, and from Dec. 6, 1863, to Feb. 20, 1864, excepting ten days' leave of absence; prisoner May 24, 1864.

ERASTUS L. CLARK.

Enlisted June 10, 1861, in Company E; mustered as first sergeant June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Dec. 19, 1861, and to captain Sept. 19, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg Dec. 13, 1862, and at Gettysburg July 1, 1863, while commanding Company A; transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps Feb. 3, 1864.

EDWIN HAZEL.

Enlisted in Company K, April 19, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861, as first sergeant; promoted to second lieutenant May 3, 1862; first lieutenant Sept. 18, 1862; captain Sept. 1, 1862; commanded regiment Jan. 6–19, 1864; wounded at Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg; mustered out July 8, 1864.

FRANCIS B. PRATT.

Enlisted April 25, 1861, in Company H; chosen second lieutenant April 29, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; first lieutenant July 7, 1862; detailed acting adjutant September, 1862; captain Nov. 30, 1862; wounded Dec. 13, 1862, being shot through shoulder, losing shoulder-blade; mustered out July 8, 1864.

ANDREW J. GAREY.

Enlisted April 29, 1861, in Company H; second lieutenant Oct. 3, 1862; first lieutenant Aug. 11, 1862; captain Dec. 21, 1862; wounded May 8, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

JOHN S. STODDARD.

Enlisted April 27, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861, as private; promoted second lieutenant May 13, 1862; first lieutenant Dec. 14, 1862; captain July 23, 1862; wounded at Antietam; taken prisoner at Gettysburg, and escaped from the enemy; killed at Spottsylvania, Va., May 10, 1864.

CHARLES C. WEHRUM.

Enlisted April 23, 1861, in Company E; corporal; sergeant Jan. 2, 1862; second lieutenant Aug. 21, 1862; first lieutenant Nov. 30, 1862; captain Feb. 4, 1864; appointed adjutant April 1, 1863; served as adjutant until mustered out July 8, 1864; acting assistant adjutant-general second brigade May 8 to June 25, 1864; severely wounded at Antietam and at Gettysburg.

MOSES N. ARNOLD.

Enlisted May 19, 1861, in Company G; promoted from sergeant-major to second lieutenant Sept. 1, 1862; first lieutenant July 2, 1863; captain May 6, 1864; aide-de-camp on Gen. Baxter's staff since July 8, 1863; wounded at Antietam; mustered out July 8, 1864.

JONATHAN B. WHITMAN.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; first sergeant Company I, June 26, 1861; second lieutenant June 24, 1862; detached on recruiting service; first lieutenant March 9, 1863; captain Company G, May 11, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

THOMAS P. HAVILAND.

Appointed adjutant June 8, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; taken prisoner at Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862; resigned March 8, 1863.

DAVID WOOD.

Mustered as first lieutenant and quartermaster June 26, 1861; resigned May 16, 1862.

WILLIAM G. WHITE.

Enlisted in April, 1861, in Company E; mustered as first lieutenant of Company A, June 26, 1861; died of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.

FREDERICK R. SHATTUCK.

Mustered as first lieutenant in Company B, June 26, 1861; detached on Signal Corps Aug. 11, 1861; resigned July 6, 1862.

EDWARD T. PEARCE.

Mustered as first lieutenant of Company C, June 26, 1861; detached as acting assistant commissary of subsistence on Gen. Hamilton's staff Aug. 1, 1861; on provost duty in Boston since April 11, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

GEORGE H. DAVIS.

Mustered as first lieutenant June 26, 1861; resigned Dec. 18, 1861.

CHESTER CLARK.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; mustered as first lieutenant Company I, June 26, 1861; resigned June 23, 1862.

SAMUEL APPLETON.

Enlisted April 29, 1861, in Company E; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; promoted to first lieutenant Dec. 19, 1861; detached to serve on Gen. Abercrombie's staff Sept. 19, 1861; discharged by special order from war department Oct. 10, 1863.

LORING W. MUZZEY.

Quartermaster-sergeant May 23, 1861; commissioned regimental quartermaster May 17, 1862; captain and commissary of subsistence United-States Volunteers March 30, 1864; brevet major United-States Volunteers, "for efficient and meritorious services," July 8, 1865; resigned and honorably discharged in November, 1865.

GILMAN SAUNDERS.

Enlisted April 19, 1861, in Company K; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; promoted first lieutenant May 2, 1862; discharged for disability Sept 10, 1862.

ARTHUR DEHON.

Joined the regiment Jan. 16, 1862, as second lieutenant; promoted May 13, 1862, to first lieutenant; killed at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862, while serving on Gen. Meade's staff.

WARREN THOMPSON.

Enlisted April 29, 1861; second lieutenant Company I, June 26, 1861; on detached service in ordnance department at Harper's Ferry; prisoner at Col. Miles's surrender September, 1862; first lieutenant June 24, 1862; prisoner at Gettysburg July 1, 1863; resigned.

LYSANDER F. CUSHING.

Enlisted in April, 1861, in Company G; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; promoted to first lieutenant June 25, 1862; killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.

FRANCIS THOMAS.

Enlisted April 29, 1861, in Company H; mustered June 26, 1861; transferred to non-commissioned staff; commissioned second lieutenant Sept. 9, 1862; first lieutenant Sept. 11, 1862; assigned to Company A; killed in action July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg; brigade inspector, second brigade, second division, First Corps.

CHARLES G. RUSSELL.

Enlisted in Company D, April, 1861; mustered as sergeant-major June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Sept. 6, 1861; first lieutenant Sept. 18, 1862; killed July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg, Penn.

JOHN H. RUSSELL.

Enlisted April 23, 1861, in Company B; mustered as first sergeant June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant July 8, 1862; first lieutenant Oct. 8, 1862; taken prisoner at Gettysburg, Penn., July 1, 1863; mustered out Jan. 3, 1865.

CALVIN WALKER.

Enlisted in Company K in April, 1861; mustered as sergeant June 26, 1861; promoted second lieutenant Aug. 11, 1862; first lieutenant Sept. 1, 1862; discharged for disability July 30, 1863; wounded at Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862.

GEORGE H. FRENCH.

Enlisted as private in Company B, April 23, 1861; mustered as private June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Sept. 11, 1862; first lieutenant Dec. 21, 1862; wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862, also at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863, losing the left arm; resigned Oct. 28, 1863; appointed lieutenant Veteran Reserve Corps, October, 1863; brevet captain and major, March 13, 1865, to date from July 1, 1863; mustered out in March, 1866.

WILLIAM ROBINSON.

Enlisted in Company C in April, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Dec. 14, 1862; first lieutenant July 2, 1863; wounded at Antietam; died of wounds received at Wilderness May 14, 1864.

JAMES A. ALLEN.

Enlisted in Company F April 27, 1861; mustered as sergeant June 26, 1861; sergeant-major Jan. 26, 1862; promoted second lieutenant Dec. 21, 1862; first lieutenant July 23, 1863; wounded May 8, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

ROYAL M. MASON.

Enlisted April 29, 1861, in Company I; mustered as corporal June 26, 1861; promoted to sergeant 1862; commanding company at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; second lieutenant Oct. 8, 1862; first lieutenant July 24, 1863; brevetted captain; provost-marshal second division, First Corps, and third division, Fifth Corps.

GEORGE E. MUZZEY.

Mustered as quartermaster-sergeant June 6, 1862; commissioned second lieutenant Oct. 9, 1862, and appointed acting quartermaster; promoted first lieutenant July 31, 1862; appointed regimental quartermaster April 30, 1864; mustered out July 8, 1864.

DAVID B. BURRILL.

Enlisted in Company H, April 29, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; promoted to sergeant May 10, 1862; second lieutenant Nov. 30, 1862; first lieutenant Oct. 11, 1863; killed May 25, 1864, at North Anna River, Va.

EDWARD LEWIS.

Enlisted in Company H, April 29, 1861; mustered as corporal June 26, 1861; sergeant Sept. 8, 1862; sergeant-major May 10, 1863; first lieutenant Oct. 28, 1863; taken prisoner at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863; mustered out July 8, 1864.

CORNELIUS BACHELDER.

Enlisted in Company D in April, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; promoted second lieutenant March 9, 1863; first lieutenant Feb. 4, 1864; wounded at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863; mustered out July 8, 1864.

FRANK A. LANCASTER.

Private Company I, June 26, 1861; promoted to corporal; prisoner at Chancellorsville; returned for services rendered in rescuing wounded from burning woods; sergeant-major; first lieutenant May 15, 1864; came home in command of company; mustered out July 8, 1864.

CHRISTOPHER T. BAILEY.

Enlisted April 29, 1861, in Company H; mustered June 26, 1861; discharged for disability June 20, 1862; appointed first lieutenant May 26, 1864; transferred to Thirty-ninth Massachusetts as first sergeant.

ANDREW A. CHIPMAN.

Enlisted in April, 1861, in Company D; re-enlisted Jan. 6, 1864, and promoted to first sergeant; first lieutenant May 26, 1864; transferred as first sergeant to Thirty-ninth Massachusetts.

JAMES G. SMITH.

Enlisted in Company G in April, 1861; mustered June 26, 1861; re-enlisted Feb. 20, 1864, and promoted to first sergeant; first lieutenant May 26, 1864; died of wounds received June 4, 1864.

GEORGE W. ORNE.

Enlisted in Company A, April 20, 1861; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; died of wounds received at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.

HARLAN P. BENNETT.

Enlisted in Company C in April, 1861; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; discharged Oct. 2, 1862, on account of disability.

GEORGE B. DRAKE.

Mustered as second lieutenant, Company D, June 26, 1861; second lieutenant, Sixth United-States Infantry, Aug. 26, 1861; brevet colonel United-States Volunteers, March 13, 1865.

HIRAM W. COPELAND.

Enlisted in Company F; mustered as second lieutenant June 26, 1861; resigned Jan. 8, 1862.

MARCUS M. LOUD.

Enlisted in Company G in April, 1861; mustered as private June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant June 25, 1862; resigned Dec. 30, 1862.

JAMES B. SAMPSON.

Enlisted in Company F in April, 1861; mustered as private June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Sept. 18, 1862; taken prisoner at Gettysburg July 1, 1863, and absent in hands of the enemy when the regiment was mustered out.

EDWARD J. KIDDER.

Enlisted in Company A as private, and mustered July 9, 1861; wounded at Antietam; promoted to second lieutenant Sept. 18, 1862; killed at Spottsylvania, Va., May 10, 1864.

GEORGE E. WHITMAN.

Enlisted in April, 1861, in Company A, as private; mustered June 26, 1861; promoted to second lieutenant Sept. 9, 1862; discharged April 16, 1864, for disability.

APPENDIX.

FLETCHER WEBSTER.

ORGANIZER AND FIRST COLONEL OF THE TWELFTH MASS. VOLS.

BORN in Portsmouth, N.H., July 23, 1813. Son of Hon. Daniel and Grace (Fletcher) Webster. Fitted for college at the Boston Latin School, and graduated from Harvard in the class of 1833. Studied law with Mr. Walcott in Hopkinton, Mass., commencing to practise in 1836. Near the close of this year he married and removed to Detroit, Mich. In 1837 he went to Peru, Ill., remaining there till 1840, when he was appointed under Secretary of State in Washington, D.C., his father then being at the head of the State Department. Sailed for China in 1843 with the Hon. Caleb Cushing, where he served nearly two years as Secretary of Legation. Jan. 20, 1845, he became Surveyor of the Port of Boston. In 1861 he resigned, and organized the "Webster Regiment." His subsequent history is the history of that organization.

On Saturday, Aug. 30, 1862, at the battle of Manassas, or Second Bull Run, while gallantly leading his regiment, Col. Webster fell, wounded in the arm and chest, a few moments before we retired. He was struck while waving his sword, and cheering on his men. The adjutant of the regiment (assisted by two of the "tenth company"[1]) removed him a short distance to the rear, and remained with him until taken prisoner. At that time the colonel was still alive, although sinking rapidly; suffering greatly, but uttering no word of complaint; calm, while recognizing the fact that he was dying; and, to the last, considerate for the welfare and safety of his friends. The existence of positive orders forbidding the removal from the field of any Union soldier rendered fruitless all persuasion and pleading to that end, and he was left alone to die. And this is really all we know of the last moments of Col. Webster; although some

[1] So Capt. Williams always said.

letters on the subject have been received, among which is the following from an ex-Confederate officer :—

"I received your letter of recent date, requesting me to give you any facts or incidents I may remember connected with the death of Col. Fletcher Webster of the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, who died on the field from wounds received at the second battle of Manassas, Aug. 30, 1862.

"It is out of my power to furnish you with any accurate information as to his death, as I was only with him for a short time just after he was wounded; and he was still alive when I left him, although in a dying condition. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon, and some time before the fighting ceased. He was probably wounded when the battery his brigade supported was taken, as I found him lying on the ground within a short distance of the captured guns; and supposed, therefore, from his position, that he fell when our troops made the final assault upon your lines.

"He was suffering great pain, and had but little to say: but I remember that he asked me for some water; and, when I took off my canteen and held it to his lips, he drank all the water it contained, and asked for more. I also remember that the officer who remained with him behaved with great manliness, and did every thing he possibly could, under the circumstances, for the comfort and relief of Col. Webster, regardless of his own personal safety. I have never known his name until your letter was received informing me that he was T. P. Haviland, adjutant of your regiment. I did not take him prisoner, as stated in your letter, or in any way prevent his attentions to the wounded man. When I left him, an officer and three or four men from some other regiment came up; but whether he was taken to the rear by them I cannot state.

"On the night of the 30th, private Brough of Company G, Eleventh Virginia Regiment, came into camp with a haversack found on the field, which evidently belonged to Col. Webster, as some letters and other personal effects were found in it. I requested him to give me the letters, as I desired to return them to Mrs. Webster with his field-glass, which I had. Unfortunately, however, these letters were captured two days afterward in my valise at Leesburg; and the glass was stolen from a gentleman to whom I sent it for safe keeping until it could be returned, otherwise I should have sent it to Mrs. Webster at the first opportunity.

"Yours, very truly,

"Wm. H. Blackford."

In March, 1878, the widow of Col. Webster received a letter from Mr. Louis T. Jones of Fort Valley, Ga., in which the writer offered to send her a ring which was upon the finger of the colonel when wounded. The ring, a valued *souvenir* in the Webster family, was soon after received. The facts connected with its recovery are deeply interesting, and furnish evidence of what has always been well known to all ex-Union soldiers; viz., that there were men in the Confederate ranks possessed of the very finest qualities. Briefly summarized, the story, as gained from the

original letter, and two others recently received, is as follows: On the morning after the battle, George T. Jones, father of Louis T., then quartermaster of Garnett's brigade (formerly commanded by Pickett and afterward by Hunton), was passing through the ranks of the Nineteenth Virginia Regiment. A soldier of Capt. Ellis's company stepped up to him, and, handing him the ring, asked him to keep it for him. He then stated to Quartermaster Jones, in a very earnest way, as though deeply moved, that he had found upon the field a Federal officer, mortally wounded; that he had done for the comfort of the sufferer all that time and opportunity allowed; he had given him a canteen of water, bathed his wounds, and covered him with a rubber blanket; and, in return for his kindness, the officer had thanked him, and given him this ring. The soldier then gave the quartermaster a description of the place where the wounded man was lying, and asked him to go there and do what he could for his aid. Quartermaster Jones was then under orders to take his wagon-train to Gordonsville for supplies, and on the way searched for and found the Federal officer in question: but he was beyond all human help; the spirit had taken its flight; and only the body, cold and motionless, lay there. On a bush near by was a little slip of paper, on which was written, "Col. Fletcher Webster, Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment." The Confederate officer saw no one upon the battle-field, of either army; and he hurried on to rejoin his train. He never again saw the soldier who had given him the ring; for seventeen days afterward, at the battle of Antietam, the man was struck down by a Federal bullet, — a fate from which his antagonists would gladly have spared him had they known of his kind acts, and had they been able to have done so. Soon after the battle of Fredericksburg, a relative of the soldier came to Quartermaster Jones, and claimed the ring. Jones was intending to send it to the soldier's widow, and was now puzzled as to what to do. The matter was left to Capt. Ellis, who decided in favor of the relative. Quartermaster Jones then bought it of the claimant, and afterward gave it to his son, Louis T. Jones, then a little boy, who has now given it to Mrs. Webster, as stated above. Capt. Ellis was killed at Gettysburg. The ring is an old-style bloodstone seal-ring. On it is the letter W., above which is a horse's head.

After the fight was over, Lieut. Arthur Dehon obtained permission to go inside the enemy's lines to search for Webster's body; though he was told that the Confederates intended to hold every one found upon the field. He was detained: but Dr. McFarland, medical director of Pope's army, told Dr. Guild, Gen. Lee's medical director, of the circumstances; and the latter very kindly released Dehon, and gave him a pass. He found the body after a long search, strapped it upon the back of his horse, and, though beset with many difficulties, reached the Union lines. Here an ambulance was obtained, and the body conveyed to Alexandria, where it

was embalmed. From Washington it was accompanied to Boston by Mr. George J. Abbott, of the State Department, and lay in state in Faneuil Hall from eleven A.M. of Sept. 8 to the same hour the next day, guarded by the Independent Corps of Cadets, and visited by thousands.

In the days of the American Revolution, at the battle of Bennington, Col. Eben Webster, the grandfather of Fletcher, commanded a regiment. The flag borne in that fight had been preserved, and its folds were now upon the coffin of the grandson.

The body was dressed in a new uniform throughout, and reposed in an elegant rosewood casket, lined with white satin. The top being of glass, a view of nearly the whole body was had. The process of embalming had preserved the freshness of life and the swarthiness of complexion which exposure to a Southern sun had given to the face. As there was no wasting sickness, there was but a slight change from the features as they were in life. In this sleep of death there was a closer resemblance to the noble father than was ever noticeable while the son was living. The massive forehead and heavy eyebrows were only needed to complete the resemblance. The inscription on the casket read thus: —

COLONEL FLETCHER WEBSTER,
TWELFTH MASS. VOLS.
Born in Portsmouth, N.H., 23d July, 1813.
Fell at the head of his regiment in
the battle of Bull Run, Va.,
30th August, 1862.

The gentlemen who served as marshals at the reception of the Hon. Daniel Webster in July, 1852, and who acted in the same capacity on the occasion of his obsequies, assembled at the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery at half-past ten in the forenoon, and participated in the exercises attending the funeral of Col. Webster. At 11.20 A.M., Sept. 9, the long funeral procession [1] moved over the follow-

[1] Detachment of Police.
First Battalion of Cavalry, Major Wilder commanding, comprising the Boston Light Dragoons, seventy-five men, Capt. Stevens; and the National Lancers, eighty-three men, under Capt. Slade. Chelsea Brass Band, mounted.
Independent Corps of Cadets, forty men, under Major John Jeffries, jun. Boston Brigade Band.
Hearse drawn by four black horses. Cap, sword, and belt of deceased lying upon the coffin. Pall bearers: Four colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, and one major from other Massachusetts regiments.
Col. Webster's horse, led by his groom.
Chief Marshal, Leverett Saltonstall. Aids: B. F. Edmands, F. W. Lincoln, W. C. Endicott, and David Sears, jun.
Delegation of nine officers and men of the regiment. Germania Band.
Carriage containing the officiating clergyman, the Rev. Chandler Robbins.

ing route: through Merchants Row, State, Court, Tremont, Beacon, Park, Tremont, Boylston, Washington, and Summer Streets, to the stone church at Church Green. At 12.20 P.M. the church was reached, where, after a dirge upon the organ and a vocal selection by the choir, Rev. Chandler Robbins read the burial-service of the church, and then said, —

"In devout recognition of the providence of Almighty God, and in humble submission to his holy will, we come into this temple to bury our soldier and our brother, not to praise him. We have come simply to read over his remains the solemn burial-service of the church to which his family are attached. But there is one feeling in our hearts which it would be untimely and ungracious for us not to utter. There is one debt which we should be individually unthankful not to pay. We cannot forget, while that body lies lifeless before us, that the last throbs of the warm heart which animated it, and the last struggles and sufferings which it endured, were for our native land. He knew the peril which awaited him as he went down into that disastrous battle, and solemnly registered his vow, 'I am determined not to spare myself.' Faithfully and nobly has he redeemed that pledge. He gave himself a willing sacrifice for the defence of that country which both the impressive precepts and illustrious example of him whose name he bore had taught him to serve with unselfish devotion, and to love better than life. We count him happy in the opportunity and the purpose of his death. We acknowledge to his honor, and with thanks to the Great Appointer of our times, that he died well; and we feel with tenderness and gratitude that he has died for our country and for us."

At the close of the services the body — in charge of Messrs. Dehon, Butler, and Eaton, of the Webster Committee — was taken to Marshfield, and lay that night in the library of the Webster mansion, in accordance with Col. Webster's oft-expressed wish.

On Sept. 10, after services conducted by Rev. Mr. Alden of Marsh-

Carriages containing family and relatives of deceased.
Carriage containing the Executive Committee of the Webster Committee.
Twenty-three carriages containing a delegation of citizens of Marshfield.
Officers Massachusetts Militia.
Volunteer Officers.
Officers of the regular army and navy.
Governor Andrew and Staff.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Boston.
The President and Members of the Common Council.
Class of 1833, Harvard College, in twelve carriages.
The Chief Marshal and assistants who officiated at the funeral of Daniel Webster.
Atlantic Band.
Citizens generally.

The following gentlemen acted as Marshals of Divisions: Josiah Bardwell, J. D. Bryant, W. P. Lee, C. H. Dudley, W. W. Clapp, jun., Henry Saltonstall, Edward Motley, Granville Mears, Ives G. Bates, S. Endicott Peabody, and H. S. Shurtleff.

field, the body was placed in the Webster tomb, — the Defender beside the Expounder of the Constitution.

Many tributes to our colonel have been written and spoken. The following, from the pen of the Hon. George S. Hillard, is given. It appears in Harvard Memorial Biographies, vol. i.: —

. . . "Col. Webster showed himself possessed, in no common measure, of the qualities of a good commander. His discipline was firm and uniform, but not alloyed by petulance or passion. His regiment acquired a good name from the neat and soldier-like appearance of the men, the quickness and accuracy of their drill, and the orderly arrangement of their camp. His men were warmly attached to their colonel. They appreciated his manly frankness, his simplicity of character, his kindness of heart, and the cheerfulness with which he bore the hardships and privations of the service. . . . Col. Webster was long mourned and affectionately remembered by the officers and men who served under him."

JAMES LAWRENCE BATES,

The second colonel of the regiment, was born in the town of Weymouth, Mass , Aug. 11, 1820. He was a son of Elijah and Sally (Torrey) Bates. With the exception of a few terms of advanced studies at Monson and Andover Academies, his education was gained in the common schools of the town. He commenced life for himself as a teacher in the schools of Weymouth, and in this profession was very successful and popular. In 1849 he went to California in the ship "Edward Everett" from Boston. He resided there one year, and then, in company with others, purchased the ship, and sailed for Peru. Returning to the East, he was for a few years engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes in South Weymouth. The outbreak of the war found him in the leather trade in Boston. He immediately joined those who were raising Company H, in Weymouth, and was chosen their captain April 29, 1861. He became at once an excellent drill-master, infusing energy and thoroughness into his command. At the seat of war he was ever a "tower of strength" in the regiment; his dignified bearing, his moral example and influence, and his unswerving integrity, gaining for him the esteem of all. On the 5th of August, 1862, he was commissioned by Gov. Andrew as major of the Thirty-third Massachusetts Volunteers. Sept. 9, 1862, he was promoted to colonel of the Twelfth, on the recommendation of Gen. Hartsuff, and took command Sept. 21. He handled the regiment with skill and efficiency at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. At the latter battle he was wounded in the neck, but remained at his post. In the fall of '63 he was called by

Gov. Andrew to assume charge of the conscript camp on Gallop's Island, Boston Harbor; and here for several months he rendered efficient service. He returned to the regiment in the spring of '64; and on the 3d of May, when the army advanced under Gen. Grant, he assumed command of the brigade as senior colonel. From that time till the expiration of his term of service he continued to be brigade commander; and, for a successful reconnoissance near the North Anna River, he was complimented in General Orders. The brigade obtained information at this time which caused a change in the movements of the whole army. He returned home with the regiment, and was mustered out of service July 8, 1864. He then became cashier of the South Weymouth Bank, which position he held two years. On leaving the bank he engaged in the banking business in Boston, and continued in this pursuit till his death. In December, 1868, he was brevetted a brigadier-general by Congress for gallant and meritorious service in the war.

He was a charter member of Post 58, G.A.R., on its formation, July 14, 1868, and its commander till January, 1870, when he was elected Commander of the Department of Massachusetts, G.A.R., which position he held one year; and, on retiring therefrom, he again became commander of Post 58, and continued in office till his decease.

Gen. Bates died on the 11th of November, 1875. The disease was diabetes, caused, no doubt, by the hardships of military life; for, up to within a few months of his decease, he had enjoyed exceptionally good health. Those who knew him when a soldier will not soon forget his robust physique, and his grand, noble voice; and all who saw him during his sickness, day after day growing weaker and weaker, wondered that one so strong should fail so fast.

When the news of his death reached the officers of the regimental association, they immediately set about to secure the attendance of as many members of the regiment as possible at his funeral, which occurred at South Weymouth, Sunday, November 14. A liberal use was made of mail and telegraph, as well as the press: a special train from Boston was secured, and Martland's Brockton Band engaged. A floral offering was sent, and mourning rosettes and badges were prepared to be worn by the men.

The floral testimonial was beautiful and massive. It represented the badge of the second division, First Army Corps, the circle being formed of choice white flowers; while in the centre appeared the Maltese Cross of the third division, Fifth Corps, in blue.

The train from Boston arrived in South Weymouth at two P.M.; and those upon it found many of their comrades, and Post 58, G.A.R., waiting for them at the railroad station. The line was formed, with seventy-two members of the regiment in the ranks; and, preceded by the band, the march was taken up for the late residence of the deceased. Many

other organizations came on the same train, and these followed; and, when the house was reached, all were assigned to their positions in line. When all was ready the remains were borne from the house and placed in the hearse, surrounded by a guard of honor of twelve men from Post 58. The procession then took up its march for the Congregational Church.[1]

The procession was over a mile in length; and, during the march to the church, the bells of the town were tolled, the bands performed dirges, and the scene was one of deep solemnity. Arriving at the church, the different organizations formed in mass on either side of the main entrance; and, while the men stood with moistened eyes and uncovered heads, their brave and loved commander passed them in a last review. When all were inside the structure, it was found to be densely packed. Mourning emblems were upon every hand; and in front of the altar, where reposed the remains, a splendid painting of the general in uniform was hung, the property of Post 58.

The services were conducted by the pastor of the church, Rev. George M. Stanton, who pronounced an eloquent eulogy upon the life of the deceased. The music was exceedingly fine, being rendered by a select double quartet.

At the conclusion of the services all present took a last view of the face of the dead; and then the line was re-formed, and the procession moved to the cemetery. Rain was now descending heavily, as if the heavens, too, wished to offer a tribute to the sad occasion. Arriving at the burial-place, the various organizations formed around the open grave in a solid square; and, after prayer, Department Commander Merrill, of the Grand Army of the Republic, delivered a short but eloquent eulogy

[1] Martland's Brockton Band, William J. Martland leader, twenty-three pieces.
Twelfth (Webster) Regiment Association, Lieut.-Col. B. F. Cook commanding, seventy-two men.
Hearse.
Gen. Reynolds Post 58, G.A.R., of Weymouth, two hundred men.
Gen. Lander Post 5, G.A.R., of Lynn.
Charles Ward Post 62, G.A.R., of Newton.
Paul Revere Post 88, G.A.R., of Quincy.
Charles Russell Lowell Post 7, G.A.R., of Boston.
John A. Andrew Post 15, G.A.R., of Boston.
Fletcher Webster Post 13, G.A.R., of Brockton.
Justin Dimick Post 124, G.A.R., of East Bridgewater.
Gen. Sylvanus Thayer Post 87, G.A.R., of Braintree.
Hartstuff Post 74, G.A.R., of Rockland.
McPherson Post 73, G.A.R., of Abington.
E. Humphrey Post 104, G.A.R., of Hingham.
Gen. James L. Bates Post 118, G.A.R., of Swampscott.
Department Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, Major George S. Merrill, and staff.
Members of the Loyal Legion of the United States.
Citizens of South Weymouth, on foot and in carriages.

upon the general's military services. Then the remains were lowered into the grave, and a salute was fired by a detachment from Post 58 under command of Capt. Charles W. Hastings, of the Twelfth Regiment. And now, as the shades of evening began to gather, and the deep black clouds overhung the scene, with the raindrops falling thick and fast, a farewell was taken of our dear comrade till we all meet, nevermore to be separated, in the brighter land beyond.

In the cars on the way back to Boston the men were called together by the president of the association, Lieut.-Col. Cook, and a committee was appointed to draught resolutions expressive of respect and esteem for the deceased. Subsequently the following preamble and resolutions were prepared, and, after having been engrossed and framed, were forwarded to the family of the deceased: —

Whereas, Our beloved colonel, James Lawrence Bates, having accomplished the high purposes of his life, is now mustered out of service here, and has responded to roll-call in the ranks of our comrades over the border; therefore,

Resolved, That we, his surviving comrades, former soldiers of the Twelfth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, sharing deeply in the sorrow which pervades many hearts at the loss which the country has sustained in the death of this loyal citizen and gallant defender of our liberties, bear unqualified testimony to his bravery in battle; to his rare skill and ability in command of the regiment, and for a long time, in the most critical period of the war, of a brigade; to his decision of character and great executive ability; to his personal dignity and worth; to his kindness of heart, his affable manners, and his consistent devotion to truth, virtue, and temperance.

Resolved, That these resolutions be placed upon the records of this Association, and that a copy be forwarded to the family of the deceased, to whom we offer our sincere sympathy and condolence.

RETURN TO → CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
202 Main Library

LOAN PERIOD 1
HOME USE

2 | 3
5 | 6
4

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405
1-year loans may be recharged by bringing the books to the Circulation Desk
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

JUN 29 1985
8/1/85
9/1/85
10/1/85

REC. CIR. SEP 26 1985

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
BERKELEY, CA 94720

FORM NO. DD6, 60m, 1/83

YC 51149

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY

B000816950

M123186

E513
.5
12th
C6

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

KOWALCZYK BROS.